

INSTITUTIONAL PATTERNS, ATTITUDES, KNOWLEDGE AND
PRACTICES PERTAINING TO SEXUAL RELATIONS AND
BIRTH CONTROL AMONGST THE CAPE COLOURED

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by

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Poverty frees people from ordinary standards
of behaviour, just as money frees people
from work.

George Orwell

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CHAPTER ONE

I N T R O D U C T I O N

CHAPTER ONE

1. AIM OF STUDY

The aim of this study is to determine the institutional patterns, attitudes, knowledge and practices pertaining to birth control among a sample of Cape Coloured women who had been exposed to information on such techniques at maternal clinics and to ascertain the possible bearing of any of these factors on the fertility of the group.

The study of fertility in any given society involves the analysis of the family and its institutional characteristics. Reproduction is one of the primary functions of the family, and it is through this institution that society maintains itself against the hazards of mortality. Both fertility and mortality are closely connected with the family structure and values. It has, however, been found that it is to a large extent possible to control mortality by factors external to the family.

Fertility on the other hand is much less susceptible to such control and is more closely linked to family organisation. For this reason, major attention will focus on the internal structure of the family as a system on which all the institutions of the larger society impinge.

2. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

(a) Composition of the South African Population

The rapid increase in the population under consideration is a serious handicap to socio-economic improvement and development,

for no problem, whether it be housing, education, food supply, communication and medical care, can be effectively solved today, if the population increases out of proportion to the resources available. Typical of families of lower socio-economic status, the Cape Coloureds tend to have large families. The findings of the present investigation indicated that incomes of most families were inadequate to maintain large households. In the Western Province, with a large Coloured population, rapid increase in numbers among the lower income groups, presents a special problem which merits investigation.

According to the mid-year estimates of the 1966 statistical yearbook, the total population of the Republic of South Africa was as follows at that date :-

TABLE 1.

COMPOSITION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN POPULATION 1966

	<u>Number</u>	<u>%</u>
Whites	3,481,000	19.02
Coloureds	1,805,000	9.87
Asiatics	547,000	2.99
Bantu	12,465,000	68.12
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	18,298,000	100.00

As seen in Table 1, the Coloureds constitute slightly less than 10% of the total population of the Republic. Relative to the total population, the Coloureds have during the past half century increased from 8.6% in 1904, to 9.87% in 1966, while the Whites have decreased from 21.6% to 19.02%. The average annual increase rate of the Coloureds for the

period 1936 to 1960, has been 2.81 as compared to 1.78 for the Whites, 2.10 for the Bantu and 2.34 for the total population. If the present trend is continued, it is estimated that the Coloured population will by the year 2,000 constitute approximately 13% of the total population and the Whites approximately 15%. The changes in composition between the Whites and the Coloured population resulting from differential growth rates, has been brought about by the decline in mortality amongst the Coloured population without any comparable changes in their birthrate as seen in Table 2. ¹⁾

TABLE 2.

VITAL STATISTICS

B I R T H R A T E

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>COLOURED</u>	<u>WHITES</u>	<u>ASIATICS</u>
1942	42.2	25.2	39.5
1952	47.7	25.2	34.8
1962	46.5	24.1	30.0
1964	46.6	24.0	33.3
1965	46.1	22.8	34.4

D E A T H R A T E

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>COLOURED</u>	<u>WHITES</u>	<u>ASIATICS</u>
1942	24.6	9.3	14.3
1952	18.5	8.2	9.2
1962	15.1	8.8	7.6
1964	14.8	9.0	7.4
1965	15.8	9.1	8.1

I N F A N T D E A T H S

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>COLOURED</u>	<u>WHITES</u>	<u>ASIATICS</u>
1942	164.7	50.9	56.3
1952	128.9	32.8	64.4
1962	121.1	27.3	60.7
1964	117.9	33.6	50.5
1965	136.1	29.2	56.1

1) Statistical Yearbook, 1966, C 5.

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>N A T U R A L I N C R E A S E</u>		
	<u>COLOURED</u> S	<u>WHITES</u>	<u>ASIATICS</u>
1942	17.6	15.9	25.1
1952	27.9	17.6	25.1
1962	31.4	15.3	22.4
1964	31.8	15.0	25.9
1965	30.8	13.6	26.3

(b) Mortality

The Coloured deathrate, while almost double that of the Whites and Asiatics, has shown a slight decline over the past decade from 16.6 in 1955 to 15.8 in 1965. The most important factor contributing to their high deathrate as seen from Table 2, is the very high rate of infant mortality. In 1962, 37.6% of all Coloured deaths occurred during the first year after birth.

During the last 22 years, the Coloured infant mortality rate has decreased by almost 30% - from 164.7 in 1942 to 117.9 in 1964. (The figure for 1965, being 136.1, is out of line with the consistent decrease; this is probably due to a short-term fluctuation or a statistical peculiarity). While the reduction in the infant deathrate has been substantial, compared with the Whites, the rate is still more than three times higher. With improved health and social services, there is considerable scope for a further decline in the Coloured infant deathrate. This will result in a tremendous acceleration of the natural increase of the Coloured population, unless fertility is curbed.

(c) Expectation of Life

As might be expected, there are considerable differences in the life expectancy of the different racial groups, as seen in the following Table 3, based on the vital statistics for 1950 - 1952.

TABLE 3. ²⁾

<u>EXPECTATION OF LIFE (AT BIRTH)</u>		
<u>SOCIAL GROUPS</u>	<u>MALES</u>	<u>FEMALES</u>
Whites	64.57	70.08
Coloureds	44.82	47.77
Asiatics	55.77	54.75

The life expectancy for the Coloured male at birth is 30.7% lower than for the White male, and for females 31.8% lower. After the third year there is an increase of approximately nine years in the life expectancy of both male and female Coloureds - from 44.82 to 53.37 for males and 47.77 to 56.09 for females. The proportional difference between the Coloured and White population thus tends to diminish fairly rapidly after the third year. These facts once again provide abundant proof of the impact of infant deaths on the Coloured deathrate.

(d) Fertility

By any standard the Coloured fertility is high. The crude birthrate is almost twice that of the Whites. A more refined measure is provided by the age specific birthrates. In their most fertile age period, 20-24 as seen in Table 4, the fertility of the Coloured women shows a rate of over 30% higher than

2) South African Life Tables, U.G. 49/60,
Bureau of Census and Statistics.

White women. At more advanced ages, the gap widens, and the fertility of Coloured females aged 40 - 44 is over ten times that of White females in the same age category.

TABLE 4.

Age	AGE SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES (1961) ³⁾			
	- 20 years	20 - 24	25 - 29	30 - 34
Whites	21.2	220.3	213.7	123.1
Coloureds	54.2	331.3	307.2	239.6
	35 - 39	40 - 44	45 +	
Whites	63.5	20.1	2.0	
Coloureds	117.9	81.9	21.3	

The major differences between White and Coloured females appear to be in terms of the timing and the rate of childbearing. The majority of White females have offspring. They, however, postpone having their first child to a later average age, the time intervals between later births is greater and they cease to have children at an earlier age. In contra-distinction to this, a fairly large number of Coloured females start their childbearing at an earlier age, to be followed more rapidly with higher order births. The net result is a considerable difference in completed fertility. In 1960, the average European woman of 50 had borne 2.97 children, compared with the average Coloured woman of the same age who had borne 5.54 children. ⁴⁾

3) Statistical Yearbook, 1966, C 8 - 9.

4) Demographic Yearbook, United Nations, 1965, p.244.

(e) Age Composition

The patterns of births and deaths as we have described them, have resulted in remarkable differences in the age composition of the White and Coloured population groups as seen in Table 5.

TABLE 5.AGE COMPOSITION 5)

<u>A G E</u>	<u>W H I T E S</u>			
<u>YEAR</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>1946</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1960</u>
0 - 14	37.1	30.5	31.7	32.5
15 - 64	59.3	63.5	61.8	60.9
65	3.6	6.0	6.5	6.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

<u>A G E</u>	<u>C O L O U R E D S</u>			
<u>YEAR</u>	<u>1921</u>	<u>1946</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1960</u>
0 - 14	41.5	42.4	43.0	45.0
15 - 64	55.3	54.0	53.4	51.7
65	3.2	3.6	3.6	3.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The Coloured population is largely concentrated in the lower age categories. According to the figures in Table 5, 45% of the total Coloured population were in 1960, under 14 years of age.

This pattern in the age distribution, may well be interfering with their economic growth as the increasing number of dependants to be maintained, uses up the income that might be utilized for long-term investment in education and other capital needs.

The adult population is spending a disproportionate share of their

income on supporting the consumptive needs of a growing population and at a low level of consumption at that. 6)

The result is that they lack the capital for improvement, and economic growth must of necessity be slower.

-
- 6) A sample survey of the income and expenditure patterns of Coloured households in the Peninsula, undertaken by the Bureau of Market Research, University of South Africa, in 1965, shows that the monthly average expenditure of all sample households exceeded the average monthly household income by R7.02. The average household income per month was found to be R96.92. The average size of household was 5 - 8 persons.

CHAPTER TWO

THE COLOURED POPULATION AS
AN ENTITY IN THE TOTAL POPULATION

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In order to understand the internal structure of the Coloured population group, their situation in the overall South African society must be grasped. The South African society is a distinctive boundary maintaining social system, containing several sub-cultural collectivities. It constitutes an ethnically heterogeneous population; various ethnic groups, possessing different cultural traditions and kinship systems, are in co-existence.

For census purposes, the following groups are enumerated :-

1. White persons (previously "Europeans") - persons who in appearance obviously are, or who are generally accepted as, white persons, but excluding persons, who, although in appearance obviously white, are generally accepted as Coloured persons.
2. Natives - persons who in fact are, or who are generally accepted as, members of any aboriginal race in Africa. Although not used in the Population Registration Act, the term "Bantu" is now being used officially instead of "Native".
3. Asiatics - natives of Asia and their descendants, very largely Indians and Pakistani, with a few thousand Chinese, and small numbers of several other Asiatic races.
4. Cape Malays - persons who in fact are, or who are generally accepted as, members of the race or class known as the Cape Malays; and



5. Coloureds - all persons not included in any of the four groups referred to above. The great majority of this group are the persons known as the Cape Coloureds.

Although the Cape Malays are a separate group, they only numbered 62,807 at the 1951 census, and they are generally not shown separately for statistical purposes, but are included in the Coloured group.

The last four groups when combined, form the group referred to as the non-white group. ¹⁾

Sheila Patterson observed that "the different formal status accorded to each group within the social structure undoubtedly succeeded in evoking some kind of 'we-sentiment' within each division", ²⁾ and in this sense the demographic divisions reflect ethnic solidarities recognised by individual group members.

The organisation of these ethnic groups into a total system comes to the fore in power terms. Broadly, the Whites, a numerical minority occupy positions of power and monopolize power in the society. The Bantu, together with other non-white ethnic groups such as the Coloureds and Asiatics, are in a numerical majority but have no share in a common franchise and are hence largely excluded from the overall power system. They qualify in Louis Wirth's terms as "minority" groups. ³⁾

The problem of the regulation of relations between these diverse ethnic

1) Official Year Book of South Africa, 1960.

2) Patterson, Sheila: Colour and Culture in South Africa, p. 355.

3) The Problem of Minority Groups in Parsons et al
Theories of Society Vol. I, p. 309 ff.

groups as units of the social system, is salient. It is a problem of the structural integration of a multi-racial society.⁴⁾ As other observers, like Lloyd Braithwaite, have noted :

The dominant minority is inescapably preoccupied with problems of structural maintenance and economic and political control.⁵⁾ For this reason it may actively seek to discourage acculturation among the subordinate majority, since the current incompatibility of their institutional systems is held to justify the status-quo.

In South Africa, structural integration of the societal system is achieved through segregation. As defined by the white "power elite" the overarching value is "apartheid" and its derivations. As a policy of segregation, its aims are to strictly limit the nature and occasions of ethnic relations. As J. S. Furnivell observed in his Colonial Policy and Practice (1945) members of these ethnic groups meet, "but only in the market place". "Apartheid" is achieved through numerous devices. Legislatively, the Mixed Marriages Act (1949) and the Immorality Act (1950) serve to prevent intermarriage and miscegenation between Whites and other ethnic groups, thereby maintaining their basic biological distinctiveness. One of the latent functions of this legislation is simply that by preventing intermarriage, wealth and power is prevented from being transferred from one group to another.⁶⁾

4) Braithwaite, Lloyd : Social Stratification and Cultural Pluralism in Annals of the New York Academy of Science, Vol. 83, 1959 - 60, P. 818.

5) The functional problems of Integration and Pattern Maintenance.

6) See Robert K. Merton's definition of latent functions in Merton, R. K. : Social Theory and Social Structure, p. 51.

In social stratification terms, the caste nature of the system is maintained in the sense that social mobility is severely blocked.

Furthermore the traditional colour bar operates to hamper occupational mobility specifically.

H. W. van der Merwe observed that :

..... group status of the non-whites is determined by ascribed or inherited criteria. Status assignment to individuals within all the groups do, however, occur according to achieved criteria. Achievement, however, does not ensure assignment of high status to non-whites in the total South African society. Although non-white individuals may reach achievements, which, when evaluated objectively, would doubtlessly lead to high social status in any Western society, the fact of their non-white identity debars them from achieving such status in the total hierarchy in South Africa.

The assignment of social status in the total multi-racial South African society is always dependent on membership of a racial group which is an ascriptive norm-disregarding achievement. 7)

This has far reaching ramifications for the nature of the system as a whole.

Utilising Parsons' Pattern Variables, the relational institutions within the white group may be regarded as Universalistic-Achievement oriented. However, the relational institutions of the total South African society inclusive of the variegated ethnic groups tend to be Universalistic-Ascription oriented.

Parsons in The Social System has sketched some of the characteristics of the Universalistic-Ascription pattern: 8)

7) Van der Merwe, H.W.: Social Stratifications in a Cape Coloured Community, p. 12.

8) Parsons, T.: The Social System, p. 191. ff.

"First, the emphasis becomes above all classificatory. There may be a secondary achievement orientation in that the ideal state of affairs to which action is oriented may not exist in the here and now."

As defined by the white power elite, "apartheid" serves as the overall societal goal - in its ideological-utopian aspect, it represents a future state of the system in which absolute separation of the ethnic groups, especially the Whites and Bantu, will be achieved. In terms of this supreme goal, all political measures are estimated and legitimated. In such a system, there is an obligation to attempt to bring about the ideal state of affairs.

"There is a strong tendency to dualism, to drawing a sharply absolute distinction between conformity with the ideal and deviation from it, and in action terms, being 'for it' or 'against it'."

Secondly, Parsons notes that :

"the strong emphases on classificatory qualities tends, in terms of social structure, to become an emphasis on status rather than on specific achievements;" "..... it tends to work out to a status-hierarchy where the accent is on what a given actor is rather than on what he has done."
"..... There is a strong tendency to give diffuseness priority over specificity. Status, then, tends not to be specific to a particular occupational role for instance, but tends to become very readily generalized relative to a general prestige scale. An aspect of this generalisation of status is the tendency to ascribe qualities to the whole group to which an individual belongs. Since universalism precludes frank recognition of particularistic elements, the group, e.g. kinship or class, is held to have inherent qualities. Hence conceptions of aristocracy, and of ethnic, especially national qualities, are congenial to this orientation."

Thirdly,

"There is a strong tendency to collectivism because of the absence of valuation of the particularization of achievements. The ideal state tends to be defined as one enjoyed by the society as a collectivity, or to be achieved by it".

Fourthly,

"there is a tendency to authoritarianism, in that the clear conception of what is ideal for all makes it natural for those who have roles enjoining collective responsibility to 'see to it' that everyone lives up to the ideal, either directly, or in making the proper contribution to the collective achievement".

There are peculiarly difficult problems in maintaining the equilibrium of such a system.⁹⁾ By virtue of the distinctiveness of each cultural tradition, members of the diverse ethnic and cultural groups may define their situations differently. This may result in a distortion of expectations in interactive relationships, leading to conflict. A process of adjustment is then necessary. Once the stratification system has been consolidated, such that each group accepts his place vis-a-vis the next, the status-role expectations, becomes stabilized.¹⁰⁾ Even though asymmetrical from the point of view of wealth, power and prestige, nevertheless such expectations are complementary.

Focusing on the Coloureds in particular, it is postulated that they closely approximate the culture of the Whites in so far as, for instance, they share Afrikaans, one of the official languages, and in the main subscribe to Christianity and attend Christian churches. These may be regarded

9) The instability of this type of system is also noted by Parsons in The Social System, p. 192; and by Braithwaite, Lloyd: Op. cit.

10) Thomas, W.I. in The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Vol. I, Methodological Note, institutions define the situation for action.

as indices of the internalization of western-type culture patterns.

Historical background factors account for how this came about.

The Cape Coloured is the result of the intermingling of five different social groups :

1. Bushmen - a nomadic indigenous people practising hunting and collecting. Their contribution to the Cape Coloured was minor.
2. Slaves - these were originally imported to South Africa from the West Coast of Africa, Mocambique, Madagascar and the East. Together with the Hottentots they formed the core of the later Coloured population.
3. Hottentots - a nomadic, pastoral and hunting people. They were the first to have contact with the White settlers.
4. Whites - a certain amount of mixing occurred between European settlers and the indigenous peoples.
5. Bantu - although the largest group of indigenous peoples, their contribution to the Cape Coloured is negligible in the early years; their contribution has increased in recent years, however.

Biologically therefore, the Cape Coloured group is a residual group.

This is reflected in the population census division given above.

From the start, the Europeans distinguished between themselves and the non-white peoples on religious grounds and gradually came to associate

their superiority with racial characteristics. They, with their superior technology, absorbed the non-whites as a convenient labour force into their economy. This pattern has been perpetuated so, that the Cape Coloureds today, form a large proletarian group of "have-nots".

A. F. Steyn, with others,¹¹⁾ regards the Cape Coloureds as a socially marginal group between the dominant Whites and the black majority. She contends that this is demonstrated in the overall social structure, particularly in the economic and political spheres of activity. Coupled to the emergence of the Cape Coloureds as speakers of Dutch and later the Afrikaans language, their association with Dutch settlers was conducive to their adopting the Christian religion - Christianity being proselytizing. Further, they participated as labourers in the productive system under white control which formed a suitable arena for being schooled in western culture. Acculturation resulted from this interactive exposure. Indubitably, the Cape Coloureds today share the same cultural tradition as the Whites. This fact is fundamental to understanding the present position of the Coloureds.

H. W. van der Merwe in Social Stratification in a Cape Coloured Community¹²⁾ found that during the early nineteen-twenties, the main criteria for rank among the Coloureds were based on racial characteristics,

11) Steyn, A.F. : Die Rol van die Man en die Vrou in die Kaapse Kleurling Gesin.
 Patterson, Sheila: Op. cit.
 Dickie-Clark, H.F. : The Marginal Situation.

12) Thesis for M. A. degree in Sociology,
 University of Stellenbosch, Stellenbosch, December 1957.

e.g. hair texture, skin colour, facial features and bodily stature.

Contrary to this, he found that at the time of his investigation, circa. 1957, ascriptive factors had more or less given way to achievement criteria. These changes pose problems in the articulation of the Coloureds in the wider situation.

The problems may be cast within the means-ends scheme. While they may achieve higher status through the attainment of goals within their own community, their mobility aspirations are considerably curtailed by the Whites hierarchically above them. Owing to the uneven distribution of wealth and hence the monopoly of facilities and rewards by the Whites, the means available for Coloured goal gratifications are limited.

As competitors with the Whites in the economy they are handicapped by an unequal distribution of opportunities as well as through differential abilities and training. The unsuitability of their labour partially springs from differential educational and training facilities. The consequence of this is that the bulk of the Cape Coloureds are semi-skilled labourers.

Marked differences in the occupational distribution between the Whites and Coloureds are revealed in a sample tabulation of the economically active population at the time of the 1960 Census according to occupational categories.

Table 6. /

TABLE 6.

MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, WHITES AND COLOURED, 1960P E R C E N T A G E D I S T R I B U T I O N

<u>Major Occupational Groups</u>	<u>Total Whites</u>	<u>White Males</u>	<u>White Females</u>	<u>Total Coloureds</u>	<u>Coloured Males</u>	<u>Coloured Females</u>
Professional Technical	11.60	9.62	17.36	2.51	1.96	8.64
Administrative executive	4.99	6.08	1.81	.23	.30	.05
Clerical worker	24.57	15.90	49.86	1.48	1.62	1.19
Sales worker	8.62	7.24	12.66	1.42	2.12	1.48
Farmer, Fisherman	10.13	13.23	1.09	22.85	32.42	2.97
Miner, Quarryman	2.76	3.70	.02	.16	.23	.03
Transport worker	6.36	7.60	2.74	3.96	5.86	.05
Craftsman, production worker	23.86	29.90	6.24	35.19	42.37	20.29
Service worker	5.08	5.01	5.31	21.22	4.51	55.96
No occupation stated	2.03	1.72	2.91	10.48	8.62	14.34
<u>TOTAL</u>	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
<u>NUMBER</u>	1,142,821	851,013	241,808	551,750	372,459	179,291

In the case of males, relatively more Coloureds than Whites are found in the occupational groups; farmer, fisherman, production worker, craftsman and service worker, while Whites are concentrated in the white collar occupations such as clerical worker, professional, technical, etc. In the case of females, the Coloureds are employed primarily as domestic and factory workers. As seen in the above table, 55.96% were found in the service worker group and 20.29% in the craftsman production worker group. In contrast to this, the female Whites were mainly concentrated in the professional, technical, clerical and sales worker categories. The vast majority of the Coloured working population are thus found in the types of occupational categories, generally associated with lower socio-economic status and in this sense these differences are indicative of the extent to which the pattern of economic and social stratification in South Africa tend to coincide with differences in pigmentation. The threat of poverty and physical deprivation are inadequate for motivating them to limit their family size; only fear of social deprivation, defined by standards relative to their reference group, will encourage them to practice family planning effectively. ¹³⁾

It is suggested tentatively that the father's role in the Western type family may be seen as instrumental-superior having "Adaptive" and "Goal-Attainment" functions, while the mother's role is expressive-superior having "Integrative" and "Pattern Maintenance" or

13) Merton's idea of relative cultural deprivation hinges on the tenet that biological needs are structured socially. What Talcott Parsons refers to as needs - dispositions. As distinct from basic biological needs determined by minimum calorie intake, for instance, needs are further established by the expectations of the group, in which the individual acts and to which he refers.

Thorstein Veblen in The Theory of the Leisure Class, also illustrates this.

"Tension-Management" functions. Furthermore both the roles of father and mother together with those of offspring may be seen as particularistic, ascriptive, affective and diffuse (as opposed to universalistic, achievement-oriented, affectively-neutral and specific).

If the family is viewed as a sub-system of society then its interpenetration with other sub-systems, such as the economy, may be dealt with.

For example, the father performs an occupational role, say that of executive in a business organisation, which can be defined as universalistic, affectively-neutral, functionally-specific and achievement-oriented. Also the role is collectivity-oriented. Moreover, the occupational role of the father fulfills a function for the family in that the income earned in part determines the standard of living and the status (prestige) enjoyed by the family in the wider social stratification system. In contradistinction to the family of the Western type, in the Cape Coloured family, by virtue of its peculiar structure, the father's occupational role does not always determine the family's welfare and general prestige. In this case, the mother frequently has to play both an instrumental and expressive role vis-a-vis the family, which may be seen as a feature of the family's adaption to status problems.

These differences were observed by Anna Steyn in her thesis on the role differentiation in the Coloured family. She points out that in the upper and middle class families either the husband plays an authoritarian role or both he and the wife play syncretic roles. In the lower class

families, the authoritarian parent-child relationship centres on the mother.

Sheila Patterson also observed in a study of status among the Coloured people :

"The patricentral family seems to be mainly associated with the senior male's ownership or tenancy of some form of property, or with his possession of some economic skill or training. Preliminary observation suggests that the incidence of such families is greater amongst the professional classes, skilled artisans and farmers, than it is amongst the labouring classes which constitutes the bulk of the Coloured people. There seems to be a strong pattern of paternal authority and dominance in such families, the woman's authority being decreased by the absence of any compulsion on her to become a joint wage-earner.

Conversely, where the man possesses no skill or property, it may be necessary for the wife to go out to work. In such families we find a decrease in the authority of the male, lowered marital stability and a weakening of family ties amongst the children due to absence from home of both parents during working hours. This is the unstable family type, probably the most common amongst the Coloured people, and found amongst both the urban and the rural proletariat.

The unsatisfactory nature of the unstable family from the woman's point of view has helped to perpetuate and probably to increase the incidence of our last type, the matri-central family. This is the only pattern that finds little or no parallel in white kinship groupings. It can be traced back to the days of slavery, in which as elsewhere, slaves were torn away from their original kinship and social groupings, and the formation of new groupings in the new situation was made difficult, if not impossible.

Today the matri-central family type has probably a fairly high incidence in the Coloured group, particularly amongst the urban lower classes, but may even occur in the lower middle class. It is not of course confined to the descendants of slaves, many of whom are now to be found in the Coloured upper classes". ¹⁴⁾

14) Patterson, Sheila : Op. cit., pp. 148-149.

This pattern we will show is the background to the high incidence of pre-marital family relationships and illegitimate births. In 1962, of 10,914 births by mothers under the age of 21, 8,111 were illegitimate.¹⁵⁾

In an attempt to determine the attitudes of Coloured spouses toward birth control, Anna Steyn¹⁶⁾ found that more than 80% of the upper class couples expressed favourable attitudes toward birth control, whereas almost 90% of the lower class couples did not believe in family planning. It is interesting to note that the majority of these couples felt that they had no control over the size of the families. The number of children a woman has is dependent on the will of God, and must be accepted as a gift from Him.

In the Western type family, it is expected that the father, by virtue of his collectivity-orientation to his family, is concerned with deliberate family limitation, because generally the family is accorded the status and prestige of the occupational status-role which he enjoys. It is probable that the father takes an interest in planning his family according to his income in order to afford the standard of living and life styles which befit his occupational status-role. Further, he may entertain equivalent or higher occupational aspirations for his offspring. All these factors which influence positive attitudes favourable to family planning are known to be lacking among the Cape Coloureds in many instances.

15) Statistical Yearbook, 1964.

16) Steyn, A: Op. cit.

Another frequent feature of the Cape Coloured family is the large incidence of additional members in the household, mostly relatives such as grandparents.¹⁷⁾ The presence of these non-nucleic elements may often lead to interference in the communication flow between the parents which may result in marital conflict and, moreover, may contribute to the inconsistent disciplining of the offspring. This breakdown of communication may directly affect the mutual parental expectations and motivations to limit family size.

The heavy drinking pattern amongst Coloureds has been emphasized time and again. In a recent survey utilizing a representative sample, carried out by the Department of Psychiatry of Groote Schuur Hospital and University of Cape Town, it was found that 15.1% of all Coloured males could be classified as addictive or near addictive drinkers.¹⁸⁾ Although not yet established by specific research, it is suggested that the "tot" system practised in rural areas, has to a certain extent reinforced the drinking pattern. From the sociological standpoint, an immediate effect of heavy drinking is to render the individual ineffective, such that his familial role performance is depressed. It is fundamental to the nature of the family as a social system that a minimum fulfillment of role expectations is upheld.¹⁹⁾

17) Cilliers, S. P. : The Coloured People of South Africa, 1963, p. 35.

18) Gillis, L. S., Lewis, J. B. and Slabbert, M. : Psychiatric Disturbances and Alcoholism in the Coloured People of the Cape Peninsula, p. 61.

19) Reference is made to the Functional Prerequisites of Social Systems as specified by Talcott Parsons in The Social System.

These observations on the Coloureds bear resemblances to the familial attitudes and patterns found among working class families where poverty is widespread and a large number live below the poverty datum line. Comparative research is that of Franklin Frazier among the American Negro families, Arensburg and Kimball among the Irish Peasant families, Banfield on the Italian Peasants, as well as the classical observations of Rowntree and Charles Booth on the working class families in Britain during the early years of the twentieth century.²⁰⁾

20) Frazier, Franklin : Op. cit.

Arensburg and Kimball : Family and Community in Ireland.

Banfield, Edward C. : The Moral Basis of a Backward Society.

CHAPTER THREE

PROCEDURE AND TECHNIQUES OF THE STUDY

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PROCEDURE AND TECHNIQUES OF THE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the procedures and techniques employed in this study. First we outline the design of the study, then identify the unit of observation and analysis, followed by some discussion on the choice of respondents. Next the construction of the interview schedule and the interviewing situation are dealt with. Finally there follows a brief report on the analysis of responses.

(1) DESIGN OF THE STUDY

As a first effort to gain information on the reproductive behaviour of the Coloured population and in view of the dearth of knowledge about these matters, our aim was at this stage to cover a wide range of variables related to the family and fertility. Major attention is focused on sexual norms, the fertility belief system, the inter-spousal communication system, personality structure and birth control practices as they are influenced by the family.

In deciding on these goals others were eliminated. The study was necessarily exploratory in intent, and not aimed at describing fertility for the population as a whole. The study was not oriented towards any action programme, but was a preliminary inquiry on a rather general

level. In the last instance, no attempt was made at measuring fertility within particular time intervals. The subject was rather the total fertility of particular women.

The most appropriate technique for achieving the goals of the study would be one that places the least constraint on the data to be collected, allowing the respondents to express in their own words, their attitudes and family relations. The instrument which comes nearest to meeting these requirements is the semi-structured interview questionnaire. This technique allows for the maximum amount of spontaneity, while at the same time assuming a relatively high degree of comparability between one interview and another. It furthermore assures that the framing of the questions will be more or less standardised, and that the same substantive material will be covered by all the interviews. This is the technique we used. The resulting interviews thus combined the richness of case studies with the comparability of survey interviews.¹⁾

Because of the rather personal and intimate nature of some of the questions, only women were interviewed. Apart from this consideration, it was also felt that the wives could supply all the necessary information as far as values and norms pertaining to fertility and related demographic data was concerned, even data required about their husbands. On the whole this proved to be correct.

A pilot survey of six interviews was conducted during May, 1965. The purpose of the preliminary survey was mainly to test the suitability of

1) Sellditiz, C., Jahoda, M., Deutsch, M. and Cook, S. :
Research Methods in Social Relations, Chapter 7.

the questionnaire on the respondents. On the basis of this preliminary information, the final questionnaire was constructed. A few modifications were introduced into the final draft, to improve the effectiveness. Changes were linguistic rather than substantial. For example, the wording of questions concerning family size, ideals and preferences, tended to be ambiguous, and in a few cases respondents also reported non-use of birth control techniques, while they employed natural devices such as abstinence and withdrawal. The questions were rephrased to avoid ambiguity and to detect these discrepancies.

As regards the respondents, the same frame of reference was used for the pilot study as for the final survey, i.e. Coloured women, under 45 years of age, currently domiciled with a mate. To qualify, the husband and wife must have been living together for a minimum period of not less than two years. Persons falling into the following categories were thus regarded as ineligible for the purpose of this study :- single women, widows living alone, divorced women - unless remarried or living with a man for a period extending two years, separated women living alone and married women over 45 years of age.

(2) THE CHOICE OF RESPONDENTS

For the purpose of this study, a representative sample was not required but rather one which included a sufficient number of respondents with different birth control experiences. Consequently, it was decided to limit the total number of respondents to a hundred women. This

would provide enough cases for simple quantitative analysis and enable us at the same time to obtain information on a wide range of responses for each case.

In order to save time and resources, our respondents were selected from two geographical areas, viz., the Strand and Somerset West Magisterial districts. The choice of these areas ensured that representatives of both rural and semi-rural centres were included in our sample.

As one of the aims of this study was to obtain information with regard to the attitudes toward specific techniques of birth control, as well as actual birth control practices, we felt that it would be advisable to include respondents who had had contact with contraception. From discussions with medical persons and informed laymen in the community we surmised that few respondents selected at random would have much knowledge about contraceptives, particularly mechanical, chemical and oral devices. The choice of our respondents was thus further limited to women who had received instruction in the use of contraceptive devices at a family planning clinic.

Somerset West has a family planning clinic which supplies oral and other contraceptives at cost price to persons living within the Somerset West and Strand Magisterial districts. Although the clinic is run by a group of ten women on a voluntary basis and is partially supported by them, it relies heavily upon the services of the district nurses to establish liaison with its patients. The clinic is held twice weekly and contraceptives such as the pill, condoms, foam tablets, the diaphragm

and jelly are provided, only under medical supervision, being supplied by the voluntary services of a medical doctor.

Our sample was chosen by selecting every third female from the files of the clinic. In this way we obtained a number of one hundred and thirty cases. Nine of these women did not qualify as they had not been married for a period of two years, seven could not be located, six were involved in sexual unions but were not domiciled with a mate, four refused to complete the questionnaire and two refused to be interviewed. This left us with one hundred and one cases of whom one hundred were interviewed as previously mentioned.

TABLE 7.

THE FINAL INTERVIEWED SAMPLE BY RESIDENCE AND CONTRACEPTIVE USE

	<u>Semi-Urban</u>	<u>Rural</u>
Regular users	18	7
Irregular users	41	17
Non-Users	8	7
Sterilized	2	0
TOTAL	<u>69</u>	<u>31</u>

Regular users are defined as families with a history of continuous use for a period of at least one year.

Irregular users are defined as families with a history of sporadic use.

Non-users are defined as families who have never used birth control techniques of any kind, or families who have discontinued use for reasons other than desiring to have children.

(3) THE LIMITATIONS OF THE SAMPLE

It must be emphasized that our respondents are a selected group of women who at the time of this investigation were domiciled with a mate for a period of not less than two years and who have received instruction, however limited, in the use of contraceptive devices by an agency recognised for its professional proficiency. This sample is thus not representative of the population as a whole. In the first instance many of the Coloured families are incomplete; and secondly, many Coloured women do not attend maternity clinics.

The findings of this survey reveal that a large number of the respondents acquired their knowledge of contraceptive techniques through the clinic and practised birth control for the first time only after attending the clinic. The clinic appears to be the main source of information and as such plays an important role in shaping female attitudes toward the use of contraceptive devices.²⁾

It is more than likely that a relatively small portion of the total female population ever attend family planning clinics, hence considerable differences in attitudes, knowledge and actual contraceptive practices between the clinic sample and the rest of the population can be anticipated. However, the extent to which birth control is practised by the total population can only be determined by further research utilizing a representative sample.

Of necessity this survey is thus exploratory in nature and does not allow for generalizations.

2) For a more detailed analysis of the knowledge and the attitudes

(4) THE INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire used in this study was divided into five parts. The first part of the questionnaire was aimed at obtaining background information, including occupation, type of community of residence, rooms per capita, religion, the composition of the respondents' household and finally the complete pregnancy history of each of the respondents.

The second part of the questionnaire concentrated on gathering information on the structural characteristics of the family. Detailed study of current literature leads us to believe that the effectiveness of the family as a planning unit is largely determined by the patterns of communication between spouses.³⁾ This pattern is mainly a function of role-differentiation and authority within the family. Research was therefore focused on these elements of family interaction.

Section three pertained to attitudes related to family planning and fertility (aspirations for self and children, concern with planning in general, ideal family size, interest in spacing, attitudes toward childlessness and sterility, etc.), and toward different aspects of sexual relations (ideal coital frequency, attitudes toward marital and non-marital sexual unions, etc.).

The fourth part was geared entirely to the "history of unions"; for each respondent a detailed statement of each union, together with dates when each union commenced and ended was, wherever possible, obtained.

3) See Hill, Reuben H., Stycos, J.N., and Back, Kurt W. : The Family and Population Control, Chapter 5.

The following is an example of the type of questions aimed at gaining information on the sexual unions of the respondents :-

1. Tell me about your first boyfriend. How old were you when you met him, and how did you get to know him?
2. At the time you met him, were you working?
If yes, what were you doing?
3. Was he working and at what?
4. What was there about him that you particularly liked?
5. Did your parents approve of him?
(If not) Did you still continue seeing him?
6. Did you ever have any sexual intercourse with him?
(If yes) How long did you go about with him before you had it and where did you have it?
7. What made you decide to have intercourse with him?
8. Were you ever domiciled with him?
(If not) With whom were you living?
9. Did you become pregnant?
(If yes) Was he prepared to marry you?
(If not) What were his reasons for refusing to marry you?
10. Did he ever help support you?

The fifth section dealt with the degree of knowledge of specific birth control techniques, attitudes toward these techniques and finally a complete record of actual contraceptive use.

The questionnaire was a combination of open and closed questions.

It was surmised that many of the respondents would not have clearly formulated opinions on many of the issues.⁴⁾ So as to avoid a forced statement of opinion, by presenting a limited choice of alternative positions and to elicit a free response, it was decided to keep some of the questions, particularly in sections two, three and four, open-ended. In a number of both closed and open-ended questions, the respondent was asked to give in her own words using her own frame of reference, a reason for her answer. It was found that many of the respondents were unable to give adequate reasons for their opinions or behaviour.⁵⁾

Certain questions touched upon areas invested with considerable emotion for the average respondent. Some of the respondents were reluctant to discuss their pre-marital sexual unions, while others refused to disclose any information on their present sexual life. Since the information obtained depended entirely upon the respondents' capacity and willingness to report, the emotion laden topics presented many problems. It was argued that some information on these areas of human interaction was better than none at all. Although the questionnaire contained many built-in checks on the factual material (data on the history of unions was checked against the ages of children), much of the verbal report was impossible to verify. The personal approach in interviewing however, enabled us to a large extent, to appraise the dependability of

4) This proved to be the case with regard to a number of questions pertaining to such matters as family size ideals, sterility fears, illegitimacy, etc.

5) For example many of the respondents were unable to specify why they had decided to limit their family size.

the respondent and the reliability of her replies. From the point of view of the respondent, we felt that the psychological rather than the logical sequence of the questionnaire was of importance. This then accounts for the lack of logic in the presentation of the items on the questionnaire.

(5) INTERVIEWING PROCEDURE

After drawing the sample a list containing the fertility category, the name of the respondent, her age and address was made. This served as a basis for letters to respondents asking for an interview at their homes. The letter indicated that we had nothing to do with the Government as we were co-operating with the University of Stellenbosch, in a study of the families which made use of the clinic. We explained that some of the questions would be personal, but that any information they gave us would be treated as confidential. No one would know their names since they were randomly selected from a number on the clinic list.

The respondents were requested to complete a form to be given to the clinic sister during their next visit, stating whether they would be prepared to participate and when it would be convenient for them to be interviewed. In addition, we also asked the name of the husband, and the number of years they were domiciled together. This enabled us to eliminate the cases that did not qualify in terms of our frame of reference.

On the whole, the co-operation was good. Out of a hundred invitations sent, we received sixty replies. Approximately half of those who did not reply had discontinued their visits to the clinic. We decided to contact these persons at their homes. Incorrect addresses made the locating of nine women impossible, while three women upon interviewing were disqualified as they did not meet the sample requirements. Replacement for these losses were made from the reserve sample.

The system of using letters, requesting an interview by appointment saved many hours in time. (Only fifteen out of the sixty who replied to our letter were not at home at the appointed time and required revisits). This made it possible for us to interview from one to two women per day. The time spent on each interview ranged from three to five hours. Our interviewing was complete within four months from August to November, 1965. Due to the intimate nature of the questionnaire, much discussion of the project occurred within the community. It was impossible to eliminate bias which may have occurred as a result of "contamination". Although respondents were asked not to discuss the questionnaire, it is doubtful whether this request was heeded. Our suspicions were verified by the clinic staff. The respondents co-operated well in providing the information needed. In most cases, rapport was excellent. Many of the respondents verbalised that they had never disclosed such intimate details to anyone before. Out of the hundred women interviewed, eighty were prepared to give us detailed information on their pre-marital sexual unions.

Those who refused to discuss this were also reticent about sexual relations with their mates. Similar problems were encountered in the majority of studies on fertility, particularly in the Western world. ⁶⁾

Under the most favourable circumstances, interviewing presents many difficulties. Often psychological factors such as ignorance, memory distortions, and deceit, etc., reduce the effectiveness of data obtained through a questionnaire. As previously noted, we constructed the questionnaire with a number of built-in checks. The results proved to be fairly consistent when the factual material was cross-checked. Our main difficulties were experienced with the less educated. Many of them could not recall their pregnancy history. All they could remember was the death of an infant, a stillbirth or a miscarriage, but were unable to relate the sequence of events. The result is that for six subjects precise information on this topic was not obtainable.

Finally, we felt that some of the attitudinal questions regarding such topics as family size preferences and norms pertaining to marriage were somewhat suspect. We, at times, gained the impression that answers were motivated by a desire to please. This is to be expected as it is a normal human tendency to want to conform to expectations. Coupled with this phenomenon, many respondents exhibited a tendency to verbalize lofty ideals, completely out of touch with the real situation, especially with regard to the future of their children.

6) See Higgins, E. : A Study of Some Norms and Values Pertaining to Fertility in an Urban White Population, Johannesburg 1960, p. 41.

The informal nature of the interview resulted in the spontaneous, and often highly emotional expression of sentiments. The information gathered was rich in detail and extended far beyond the limits of the questionnaire.

(6) THE RECORDING AND ANALYSIS OF RESPONSES

Immediately after interviewing, a detailed note on the pre-marital sexual career of each respondent was written, not only recording the facts, but also giving impressions of the most salient points, thus enabling the making of interpretive statements.

The questionnaires were carefully coded, and each question checked for accuracy and reliability before punching onto I.C.T. Cards.

CHAPTER FOUR

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FAMILIES STUDIED

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INTRODUCTION

This chapter gives a brief resumé of the main sociological characteristics of the sample population. Section one of this chapter deals with the conditions of living, community background and ecological distribution of the families studied.

In section two we examine their family composition and marital structure and finally, in section three, their general value orientation.

1. SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

(a) Income and occupation of breadwinner

Few of the families could be classified as middle or upper class. In the majority of the cases, the husband was, however, the breadwinner. As might be expected, a large percentage of the wives was also economically active. In 47 per cent of the families, the wife was employed either on a part-time or full-time basis, in most cases as a domestic aid. The main categories of occupation for males were semi-skilled and unskilled. Difficulty was experienced in classifying males into categories of skilled and semi-skilled, as many respondents who stated that their husbands were carpenters, confectioners, etc., were really handymen.

TABLE 8.DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATION OF HUSBANDS IN SAMPLE

Lower professional and skilled (teachers, electricians, laboratory technicians and craftsmen)	14
Semi-skilled (operatives, clerical, drivers, bricklayers, postmen, policemen, storemen, etc.)	60
Non-farm labourers	7
Farmworkers	17
Unemployed	2
	<hr/> 100 <hr/>

The incomes of the families ranged from R4.50 to R40 and over per week. Of the hundred families interviewed, fourteen had total incomes exceeding R30 per week. The majority of the families earned between ten and thirty rand per week (66%). Approximately one fifth (19%) of the respondents stated that their weekly earnings were below R10. The lower income categories were mostly employed as farm labourers and their wages therefore excluded payment in kind, such as free food and quarters.

Their cash wages, when converted to a monthly basis, averaged R80.00. In many of the cases, the male income alone was inadequate to meet the minimum needs of the family.

Many of the wives were thus under pressure to work. Of those families earning more than R20 per week, only eleven

wives were gainfully employed, in contrast to thirty-six wives in the lower income groups.

(b) Educational Level

As is to be expected, husbands on the average have a higher educational level than wives. Table 9 provides a comparison of the educational levels of the husbands, compared with the wives.

TABLE 9.

THE EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE HUSBANDS AND WIVES
AMONG THE FAMILIES STUDIED

<u>Educational Level</u>	<u>Husbands</u>	<u>Wives</u>
Matriculation +	8	2
Secondary	24	12
Primary	39	60
Preparatory	7	20
No school attendance	15	6
Don't know	7	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100	100

A more detailed analysis shows that the educational level of the urban group was somewhat higher than that of the rural. Of the fourteen wives who attended secondary school only three lived in rural areas. The difference between husbands was even more significant; only six out of the thirty-two husbands who had received secondary schooling were classified as rural.

(c) Housing

By Western standards the characteristic setting of family life is that of poverty. As we have already seen, the educational and income level is low. Of the hundred families studied only twelve owned their own homes. The rest were either tenants or received free accommodation. Thirty-five of the families lived in two-roomed houses. Only twenty had a bathroom, and in the majority of homes, the water for washing purposes had to be carried from outside. Toilet facilities were in many cases unsanitary, often shared by more than one household. Very few of the homes had electric lighting and candles were used. Hardly any of the families owned books, newspapers or magazines.

Another outstanding feature of family life is the complete lack of privacy experienced by both the parents and siblings. Due to overcrowding and inadequate sleeping facilities, two or more children of the same sex were mostly forced to share a bed. In twenty-seven of the homes, parents and children, over the age of six, were sleeping together in one room. These conditions do not offer much protection against exposure to intercourse at a relatively young age.

The respondents were asked about the sleeping arrangements they experienced as children. Sixty stated that they had

shared a bed with their sister, until such time as they left home.

(d) Rural-Urban Residence

Residentially the families are town, village or farm families. Thirty-one described as rural were living on farms or in small settlements adjacent to Sir Lowry's Pass Village, Fir-Grove and Gordons Bay. The majority of husbands living in communities designated as settlements, was employed in larger towns, such as Somerset West, Kuilsrivier and even Cape Town. The sixty-nine classified as urban, were living in Garden Village and Servitas, as part of the Somerset West district and South-end in the Strand Municipal Area. Servitas can be regarded as a middle-class Coloured residential suburb, as the majority of families who live there, own their homes, and are employed in the skilled trades or the professions. Most of the movement has been from farm or village to town, although six of the wives were born and grew up in Cape Town.

(e) Religious Denomination and Church Attendance

A wide distribution of denominations is found among the hundred wives. Thirty-three were Dutch Reformed Church. Next in numerical order were the Anglican (twenty-two); followed by the Methodist (twenty-one), Apostolic Faith Mission (eleven), Islam (four), and one Roman Catholic. The religious affiliation of the remaining eleven were not

reported or were too diversified to permit classification.

There was very little difference in frequency of church attendance between the different religious groups. The only difference was noted amongst the Apostolic Faith Mission, who were by far the most frequent churchgoers. The attendance of a large percentage suggests no more than nominal affiliation (twenty-four per cent never or hardly ever attended, ten per cent only once, or less than once per month). Less than half the families were married in the church; forty-five per cent started their married life consensually, which suggests that competing norms regarding entry into marital unions may be present, particularly within the lower class.

Our findings indicate that marriage is regarded as being more respectable than cohabitation and hence is desired by the respondents. The greater sense of respectability attached to the marital status is often defined in religious terms. However, the economic instability of many of the families prevents marriage from occurring at the age when young people reach sexual maturity, as parents want to ensure for themselves for as long as possible the earnings of their children. The demand for economic aid, at least in part accounts for the unstable mating patterns observed among many of the families studied.

(f) Age and Fertility

The level of fertility was high, considering that the respondents had experienced an average of 5.75 pregnancies, although the average age was only 29.71. Forty-seven per cent were married by the time they were twenty-two years of age.

(The median age of marriage of Coloured young women is 23.4).¹⁾

Eighty-four per cent entered into their first sexual union before their twenty-second birthday. Of the ninety-two who were legally married, seventy-five stated that they had been pregnant or had children prior to their marriage.

Table 10 indicates the age distribution of respondents.

TABLE 10.

AGE OF RESPONDENTS BY FIVE-YEAR PERIODS

<u>Age</u>			<u>Number</u>
20	-	24	18
25	-	29	33
30	-	34	25
35	-	39	19
40	-	44	5
			<u>100</u>

2. MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE

(a) Family Composition

One of the main feature in the composition of the families studied, was the relatively high incidence of additional persons as members

1) Statistical Yearbook, 1965.

of the household. Such persons were predominantly grandparents and other kin. Sixty of the families were nuclear family units. Due to the shortage of housing facilities, many families were under pressure to have relatives living with them. The majority of wives stated their preference for living separately. Only eight of the mothers who were full-time employed and had young children, welcomed the presence of a grandmother,

The children living in the household were mainly products of the current union. Sixty-one out of the eighty respondents on whom we have detailed information had only one union, twelve had two and seven, three or more unions.

The size of families ranged from one to eleven children. There were eleven families with seven or more children and five families with only one child. The average family size was 4.4 children.

(b) Marital Relations

Superficially the overall impression of marital relations is that of agreement and satisfaction. In an attempt to determine the extent of marital satisfaction, the respondents were asked how they felt about married life and if given a choice again, whether they would marry the same person. Sixty-seven of

the wives gave positive answers to both questions. There appears to be a fairly high level of consensus on key marital issues such as religion, disciplining of children, family budget, husband's work, etc. (See Table 11). This may well be the result of stereotyping as communication on all matters except the disciplining of children appears to be limited as seen from Table 12. Further probing revealed that with regard to the disciplining of children communication tends to be one way rather than the joint participation of both parents.

The low level of consensus in respect of future plans for and education of children is probably in part due to the fact that many of our respondents had young children. Furthermore, it is likely that among the lower income groups very little thought is given to this matter, hence the large percentage of 'don't knows'.

With regard to sexual satisfaction, the respondents expressed a more critical attitude. As many as forty-two said that they did not enjoy sexual relations. This may also be due to lack of communication. Forty-nine of the wives had never discussed sexual relations with their husbands. As one respondent verbalized "Ons praat nie oor sulke dinge nie". Many of the wives expressed fear of becoming pregnant.

Seven said that they only derived enjoyment from intercourse

since using the pill. A number of wives complained about their husband's lack of affection and felt that they were merely being used.

Table 11 depicts the level of consensus as reported by the respondents.

TABLE 11.

<u>LEVEL OF CONSENSUS AS REPORTED BY THE RESPONDENTS</u>			
<u>Key Marital Issues</u>	<u>Same</u>	<u>Different</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
Religion	61	10	29
Disciplining of Children	74	22	4
Family Budget	72	20	9
Future Education of Children	29	3	68
Husband's work	57	10	33
Sexual relations	32	19	49

(c) Authority Patterns

Alternative modes of authority are present in the family structure of our sample. Forty-two of the families were organized around the dominant mother, followed by thirty-four of the families organized around equalitarian couples and twenty-four organized around the dominant father, as a minority type.

There appears to be a significant relationship between patterns of dominance, educational level and income. A male dominant or syncratic pattern was observed among twenty-seven out

of a total of thirty-two families, where the husband had received secondary school education or more. Twenty-nine out of the forty-two families, which were characterized by a maternal pattern of family organization had a weekly income of less than R20. As previously mentioned similar differences were described by A.F. Steyn.²⁾

The role of the authoritarian mother among the lower class appears to be forced upon the wives and would seem to be accepted with reluctance. Many of the lower income group wives complained that their husbands showed little interest in the welfare of their offspring and rarely contributed to their care and control. The father is, in childrearing terms and role model provision, psychologically absent. It is suggested that the maternal dominance may be due to the fact that a large number of children in these families were born out of wedlock, and that the male's initial interest in the woman and her offspring was of a casual nature. In many cases, the woman continued living with her parents. The male's contribution to the household was, in the form of gifts in cash (usually amounting to approximately R1 per week) and in kind. The father has no authority in the family and during the first years of their lives, the children may not even have been aware of his relationship to them, but more about this in Chapter Five.

2) Steyn, A.F. : Op. cit.

It is interesting to note that Franklin Frazier found similar conditions amongst the lower class Negro families. ³⁾

(d) Companionship

Companionship does not appear to be regarded as an important aspect of marriage. Among particularly the lower status groups, companionship in doing things together is virtually absent.

The vast majority of men spend their free time chiefly in the company of their own sex. Out of fifty wives questioned, only nine stated that they visited friends together or participated in joint activities such as church organisations. The nine who enjoyed a relative amount of sociability with their husbands, were all married to men occupying professional or skilled jobs. Very few of the lower class wives knew their husband's friends which further seems to indicate that couples did not tend to associate a lot with each other.

By Western standards inter family communication is poor. The following question represents a measure of the informative communication on general issues, such as for instance the husband's occupational role. "Do you ever discuss your husband's work and when he comes home does he tell you things that happened there?" Thirty-five of the wives reported that their husbands never talked about their work, thirty-one reported occasional discussions, while thirty-four of the husbands frequently told them about events at work.

3) Frazier, F.E.: Op.cit.

Interspousal communication in certain areas is observed to be even more restricted. Over seventy wives said that they could not remember having discussed the number of children they desired, before the birth of their first child. In the entire history of their married life, thirty-four of the wives reported that they had never discussed family size. Only twenty-eight couples discussed matters of fertility at fairly regular intervals. The rest stated that they had at different times mentioned to their husbands that they did not want more children. This suggests a one-way communication system which is further borne out by the fact that fifty-five out of seventy-nine women who had discussed family limitation, stated that they had merely mentioned to their husbands their intention of either visiting a family planning clinic in view of gaining advice on contraceptive use, or using the pill.

In terms of their definition of concurrence it appears that in many cases, they interpreted a non-response from the husband as either agreement or indifference. It is suggested that the dearth of communication on these matters, is in part a result of a disinterested attitude in family size and family planning. Over two-thirds of the wives had never thought about the number of children they desired prior to the birth of their first child. The main sources of influence in facilitating the use of contraceptives were nurses and medical men. In only 15 per cent of

the cases was contraceptive use the result of communication between spouses. Table 12 gives the level of communication on key marital issues as reported by the respondents.

TABLE 12.

LEVEL OF COMMUNICATION ON KEY MARITAL ISSUES AS REPORTED

BY WIVES

<u>Topic</u>	<u>Frequency of discussion -</u>		
	<u>Often</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>Never</u>
Religion	38	32	30
Discipline of children	79	15	6
Family budget	49	35	16
Husband's work	34	31	35
Sexual relations	20	32	48
Family size	29	38	34
Family limitation	24	55	21

(e) Drinking habits

Reports on alcoholic consumption as given by the women in the sample were not significant enough to our topic of family limitation and contraception to warrant detailed analysis. Of the hundred women interviewed, only eleven verbalized dissatisfaction with their partners' excessive drinking. It is interesting to note that these families were mainly organized around the dominant mother and characterized by instability.

Excessive drinking, as formerly noted, renders the male ineffective, thus threatening the integrity of the family. The woman is

forced into a position of dominance as she becomes the main stabilizing influence and as such is responsible for holding the family together.

Table 13 (below) gives the frequency of the alcoholic intake of males as reported by the respondents.

TABLE 13.

<u>MALE FREQUENCY OF ALCOHOLIC INTAKE</u>	
	<u>Number</u>
Teetotaller	21
Less than once a week	22
Week-ends only	47
3 Days per week	1
4 Or more days per week	9
	<u>100</u>

Twenty-eight of the women claim that their partners are sexually demanding when they have had something to drink. The rest, however, state that their husbands are completely disinterested and merely want to sleep when they have been to a drinking party. It is generally recognized that alcohol depresses sexual function.

"Alcohol is supposed to be an aphrodisiac and to promote sexual function. It may stimulate desire, and the shy man or the cautious may, under its influence, be able to have intercourse because his inhibitions, his fears or his scruples have been lessened. However, this is a psychological effect. Upon potency alcohol exerts a dampening action."⁴⁾

4) Kessel, N. and Walton, H. : Alcoholism, p. 26.

Even should the husband become sexually aggressive, by far the majority of women state that they refuse to have intercourse with him when under the influence of liquor. Only thirteen say that fear of their partners prevented them from refusing his demands. Hence we see that the effect of alcohol on coital practices is negative rather than positive.

3. VALUE ORIENTATIONS

The majority of wives (sixty-three), claimed that it is better to plan for things in life than to leave them to fate. The general outlook, however, appears to be that life is something one cannot manipulate. The aspirations held for themselves and their children, are limited and there is a tendency to accept one's lot in life rather than to seek change.

In appraising their general living and working conditions, seventy-eight of the wives stated that they were satisfied. One lower class wife expressed the position poignantly: "What can we do, we just have to be } NB. satisfied".

Fifty-one agreed that their life is better than when they first got married.

Domestic or economic reasons were given for improved conditions.

Those who felt that their economic situation had improved, were mostly the older age categories with children gainfully employed and contributing substantially to the household income. Thirty-two reported that their position had declined mainly as a result of deterioration in finances due to an increase in the size of their families. 5)

5) The picture presented above corresponds largely to Seebohm Rowntree's description of the families of York, living on the subsistence level during the turn of the century.

Only ten indicated that they had urged their husbands to change jobs.

Fifty-five as against forty-five of the wives felt that their sons should make their own way in life and not follow in their fathers' footsteps. Only forty-six, however, specified that they desired higher status for their sons and emphasized the importance of education in getting ahead. The majority (ninety-seven) were in favour of schooling, even if only to learn how to read and write.

Said one woman in this connection "People will not be able to deceive you if you are able to read." Many expressed that they could not afford to keep their children at school for any length of time, but that a little knowledge is better than nothing. A number of lower class wives had very lofty ideals for their sons, completely beyond the means of realization.

On the whole, the families appear to be neither completely fatalistic nor achievement oriented, but rather in a stage of transition from one way of life to another, the dimensions of which are not entirely clear. In terms of David Riesman's description of the curve of population growth, these families would be in the phase of "Transitional growth". 6)

6) Riesman, D. : The Lonely Crowd, pp. 7 - 9.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF REPRODUCTION

CHAPTER FIVETHE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF REPRODUCTION1. The age at which the female begins her sexual life

An important factor influencing fertility is the age at which the female first begins her exposure to intercourse. If this is postponed to a later age, the number of children a woman has will be less than would otherwise be the case. As seen in Table 14, the median age of marriage for the Coloured population as a whole is somewhat higher than for the Whites.

TABLE 14.MEDIAN AGE OF MARRIAGE 1937 - 1960 ¹⁾

<u>Year</u>	<u>Whites</u>		<u>Coloureds</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
1937	26.53	22.8	26.7	23.8
1940	26.35	22.71	27.0	23.9
1945	25.79	22.22	26.4	23.3
1950	25.30	21.67	26.2	23.2
1955	24.80	21.36	25.9	23.3
1960	24.20	21.2	25.6	23.4
1963	24.3	21.2	25.5	23.5

From the high illegitimacy rates mentioned in a previous chapter and the difference in fertility as between White and Coloured females under

1) U.G. 61/1954, U.G. 88/1959 and Statistical Yearbook, 1965.

the age of 20²⁾ it is obvious that the age at marriage can account for only a small fraction of the total initial exposure to intercourse. For both male and female the first sexual experience is far more likely to be pre-marital. For our sample, the median age at which respondents experienced their first intercourse was 18.2, while the median age of marriage was 22. Of the eighty women on whom we have detailed information with regard to their courtship and dating patterns, seventy-three reported that they had experienced intercourse before marriage. From the above it is clear that in the majority of cases the woman in her first union merely has intercourse with a mate who may or may not eventually enter into marriage with her.

When comparing the date of birth of first child with the date of marriage it was found that eighty-three of the hundred women were either pregnant or had already borne a child. Hence the practice of premarital sexual intercourse is widespread.

The large-scale practice of pre-marital sexual intercourse, starting at a relatively young age, coupled with a dearth of knowledge of contraception, is one of the factors exerting a positive influence on fertility. Table 15 gives the extent of knowledge with regard to specific birth control techniques prior to marriage.

Table 15 /

2) See Table 4, Chapter One.

TABLE 15.SPECIFIC TECHNIQUES KNOWN TO RESPONDENTS BEFORE MARRIAGE

	<u>Number</u>
Withdrawal	20
Rhythm	3
Spermicides, diaphragm, douche	1
Condom	38
Pill	0
Sterilization	13

With the exception of a few of the respondents who had actually used the condom prior to marriage, by far the vast majority had merely heard of this method and possessed no further information.

Eighty-three of the respondents state that their first unions resulted in pregnancy. This fact, coupled with the relatively low average age of first intercourse quoted above, is obviously partly responsible for the high fertility rate amongst Coloureds.

2. Attitudes towards marriage and non-marital unions

Pre-marital family relationships as previously noted appear to be a common phenomena amongst particularly the working class section of the Coloured population. Although more tolerant than middle class society of pre-marital illegitimacy our data shows that their actual behaviour is not always in accordance with the way in which they would prefer to shape their pattern of life.

Their present economic circumstances, as will be shown later and their

origin which has, as part of its background, the historical fact of slavery which did not allow for the universal institution of marriage, have resulted in a disorganized condition in which the postponement of marriage is closely linked with illegitimate reproduction at a relatively early age.

Table 16 gives the marital type of first unions for the women in our sample.

TABLE 16.

MARITAL TYPES OF ALL FIRST UNIONS FOR WOMEN
IN THE SAMPLE

	<u>Number</u>
<u>First unions which have ended</u>	19
+ Incidental intercourse	3
Incidental intercourse leading to cohabitation	15
Cohabitation	0
* Marital	1
<u>First unions which are current unions</u>	61
Incidental intercourse leading to cohabitation	1
Began as marital	7
Began as incidental - currently marital	48
Began as incidental, then cohabitation, then marriage	5

+ Reliable information regarding the first single unions that ended as single was obtained only in respect of women who conceived.

* The one woman in this category began her union incidentally. She married her mate after becoming pregnant. Her husband died and she later remarried.

The most important conclusion is that in only seven out of eighty unions on which information was obtained, intercourse was first experienced within the context of legal marriage. Thus more than 86% of these informants had their first sexual experiences outside of marriage. Overwhelmingly, therefore, the pattern seems to be for incidental intercourse to lead to the establishment of a sexual relationship leading to cohabitation, followed eventually by formal marriage.

Our data thus seems to indicate that there is a discrepancy between actual sexual behaviour and norms held by the respondents themselves. The attitudes towards non-marital unions and pre-marital births is that of disapproval. On being questioned directly as to how they felt about both marriage and cohabitation, all hundred of our respondents chose marriage without reserve. The majority view cohabitation as an inferior type of relationship in which men recognize very few obligations, yet overwhelmingly had participated in such relationships. The respondents tend to couch the greater sense of obligation in marriage in economic terms. For example :

"As jy wetting getroud is het jy meer reg op die man se geld".

The issue of fidelity also looms high. At least fourteen of the women mention fidelity as the most important advantage of marriage. Fidelity is generally regarded as an expectation in marriage as contrasted with consensual unions where infidelity is expected and to a certain extent justified.

"Voor jy getroud is met hom is hy nog alle vrouens se man".

"Dit is beter om te trou, want 'n man wat nie getroud is kan nog buite die deur jol".

"As jy nie getroud is nie kan enige meisie hom kom afvat".

Secondly, the advantages of marriage for children are emphasized.

A number of women point out that marriage is a good example to children. Parents who live in a consensual union set a bad example and are partly responsible for the perpetuation of this pattern.

As one consensual wife expressed herself :

"As die ouers so leef, dan dink die kinders hulle kan maar dieselfde doen, daarom sê ek vir my man ons moet trou want die kinders word groter".

Closely related is the importance of the marital situation for the care and training of children. Ten of the respondents stress this aspect of marriage as being crucial :

"As jy getroud is, is jy seker van 'n sorg vir jou kinders".

As mentioned in Chapter Four, this attitude is consistent with the views held by respondents on the importance of the father in the family, both as breadwinner and disciplinarian. The aspirations parents have for children appear to reinforce the desire for marriage. A number of the respondents tend to view both legitimacy and education as the means by which upward mobility is achieved. Eight of the women in our sample mention the importance of the father's surname in this respect.

For example :

"Die kinders kry die van van die man en het beter kanse in die lewe".

Finally the desire for respectability acts as a further impetus to bolster positive attitudes towards marriage. More than a third of the women in our sample expressed the opinion that marriage was more respectable² than a consensual union:

"Om so saam te lewe is nie mooi nie, want die mense skinder van jou. Hulle praat lelike dinge van jou en behandel jou kinders ook nie reg nie".

"Dit is beter om te trou want die mense dink meer van jou".

Many of those who cited respectability as their main reason for desiring marriage defined the situation in religious terms. The following ³ quotations are representative of the view expressed by these women :

"Dit lyk te lelik om te lewe met mekaar as jy behoort aan die kerk of so".

"Om so saam te woon is nie reg in die oë van die Here nie".

TABLE 17.

THE SPECIFIC REASONS FOR PREFERRING MARRIAGE

The woman has more financial claim on her mate	40
Marriage is more respectable	39
Religion	19
Children are more protected and better cared for	10
Good example to children	15
Children who are legitimate have more opportunities in life	18
Can expect fidelity from mate	14
Number of respondents	100

Our respondents prefer marriage not only because they feel that particular advantages are attached to this status, but because of a general belief

that the consensual union is a relationship which, when compared with marriage lacks the norms of reciprocal obligation. Statements such as the following are indicative of these views held by a large percentage of the women on whom we have information.

"As jy getroud is het jy meer seggenskap oor die man".

"Julle is meer baas van mekaar".

When classified according to their marital status, we found that the women living in consensual unions expressed far more active discontent with cohabitation than the rest of the respondents in our sample. Seven of the eight women claim that they have at different times prevailed upon their partners to legalize their unions. The main reason for rejecting their pleas, as cited by these women, was that their mates felt that they did not at this stage want to sacrifice their freedom.

For example :

"My man sê hy wil nie nou al trou nie, want hy is te jonk om nou al gebind te wees. As hy eers getroud is kan hy nie meer naweke rondloop en by ander meisies kuier nie".

"My man is bang as ons trou, want dan sal ek baas speel oor sy geld".

These replies indicate that both men and women are in agreement as to the man's multiple role performance in cohabitation as against marriage. Hence in terms of interpersonal relations the consensual union is not regarded as the equivalent of marriage.

Marriage and the consensual union are viewed as two kinds of relationships

to which differential sets of role-expectations pertain. In contrast to the marital relationship, the husband's role in the consensual union is seen as self-oriented, specific and neutral.

"Die man en vrou is meer lief vir mekaar. Hulle is meer een".

"Die man is meer geheg aan jou en doen ook meer vir jou. Hy help baie meer met die kinders en loop ook minder rond in die naweke. Hy jol ook minder buitekant die deur".

This data serves to buttress our contention that not only is the male's economic, but also his emotional commitment regarded as being far greater in marriage. The scope of his interest and thus his obligations vis-a-vis the family is diffuse as compared with the consensual union.

If the high incidence of non-marital reproductive unions cannot be explained in terms of female rejection of marriage, what factors then do account for the prevalence of pre-marital family relationships and illegitimate births?

3. Sex Attitudes, Sterility fears and the first entry into sexual unions

As previously noted, youthful liaisons have resulted in pregnancy for over 80% of the women in our sample. This figure suggests a casual attitude to sex on the part of the woman. However, a number of our respondents expressed disapproval of very youthful as well as casual relationships. They did not feel that this was the desired type of relationship

for a young girl. Nineteen claim that they entered into their first sexual unions only after their 21st birthday. They had previously considered themselves too young for such an experience. The norms regarding adolescent sexuality do not always appear to be in accordance with actual sexual behaviour but more about this later.

Although the respondents were not directly asked about their attitudes concerning pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relations, from answers to other questions we could infer that casual relations and promiscuity were generally disapproved of. For instance, the women were asked, whether people say things about a woman who has been married for a number of years, but does not have any children. Seventy-two out of a hundred women answered in the positive. It is interesting to note that the majority regard sterility as being the fault of the woman. Forty-eight ascribe the cause of sterility to what they believe to be immoral behaviour on the part of the female. According to them "people" feel that the woman becomes sterile because she has been promiscuous or practised abortion.

"Sy het te veel rondgekuier toe sy jonk was en nou het sy uitgeput geraak".

"Hulle praat allerhande lelike dinge van so 'n vrou. Hulle sê sy het baie uitgeslaap toe sy jonk was".

"Hulle sê sy het te veel rondgejol toe sy jonk was en nou wil sy nie vat nie".

Thirteen of the women mention retribution in this respect.

"Sy was 'n slegte vrou en nou straf die Here haar".

Many of the women however impute both natural and immoral causes }
 to sterility. Twenty-four view sterility as mainly the result of a
 medical defect such as an "infantile womb" or "blocked tubes".
 Although these women do not regard a childless woman as an outcast in
 her community, they do however, feel that such a person is doomed to
 an unhappy life. Whatever the causes ascribed to sterility, the
 majority of respondents are in agreement that no man would wish to
 maintain a permanent relationship with a woman who did not eventually
 bear him a child. Eighty-five of the women cited as one of the
 reasons amongst others, for desiring children, the importance of off-
 spring for cementing the marital relationship. In a number of cases
 the respondents felt that a man would not like to have a mate of whom
 the "people" say ugly things.

"Die mense sal van hom skinder, hulle sal van hom sê
 hy is met 'n "slet" getroud".

The majority of women are however of the opinion that their husbands,
 like themselves have various personal reasons for wanting children such
 as for instance the desire for security in old age. This raises the
 question of whether fears of sterility encourage young girls to become ^{frs}
 involved in pre-marital sexual activity. Empirical evidence, however,
 shows that this contention is not tenable. Information given us by the
 respondents lead us to believe that very little pressure is exerted upon
 the young girls to prove her fecundity. Very few women mention
 that as young girls they ever thought about whether they wanted children
 or not. Those who did think about the matter and who were aware of

the consequences of intercourse, were in fact more concerned about not becoming pregnant.

On questioning, their reasons for entering into sexual unions at the time that they did, at least twenty-two of the eighty women on whom we have detailed information, could give no explanation for their behaviour.

They maintain that they did not think and that it just happened.

Eighteen claim that they did not know what was happening to them, while fifteen were at the time living away from home and gave "loneliness" as the reason for becoming sexually involved. An additional twenty-five state that although they knew they could become pregnant as a result of intercourse they were prevailed upon by their partners to such an extent that they eventually gave in. Many claim that they were "in love" and that their "boyfriends" promised to marry them.

Only four mention that they at the time desired pregnancy. One woman expressed the view that :

"Baie mans wil hê jy moet eers 'n kind verwag voor hulle trou, dan kan hulle sien dat jy vrugbaar is".

It is interesting to note that these four women had less than two years of schooling.

Contrary to this viewpoint many of the women expressed negative attitudes towards out of wedlock pregnancy. A number of them even verbalized that they themselves experienced shame at becoming pregnant in this manner. For example :

"Ek het baie sleg gevoel omdat ek so stout gewees het. Ek het toe vir my vriend gesê dat ons moet trou want die mense sal lelike dinge van ons praat".

"Ek het geweet ek moet nie so maak nie. Toe ek so staan het ek geweet die Here straf my omdat ek gesondig het".

"Ek weet ek het kwaad gedoen. Ek was te bang om my pa te vertel toe ek uitvind dat ek so was, want ek het geweet hy sal my vreeslik slaan omdat ek sulke dinge aangevang het".

"My ouma het my gewaarsku om my nie met sulke dinge op te hou nie. Hy het net eenkeer by my ingegaan en toe raak ek so. Ek was te bang om haar te vertel want ek het geweet sy sal baie kwaad wees. Toe sy dit raaksien het sy my geroep en gesê „Maar jy was mos stout gewees" en 'n verskriklike pakslae gegee".

From these quotations it can be seen that pregnancy is welcomed but only when it occurs within the conjugal situation. Spontaneous information given by the respondents further serves to reinforce our contention that illegitimacy is negatively sanctioned. These views are consistent with their attitudes towards marriage and other related aspects of family life such as the importance of the father in the family. The most negatively sanctioned of all, is reproduction which results from an incidental sexual union - that is where both parties have no intention of legitimizing the relationship or making it a permanent one without actual marriage.

"Dit is baie groot sonde om mekaar sommer so te vat en dan weer te los".

"Dit is baie sleg as die kinders nie eers weet wie hulle pa is nie".

In summing up the views as expressed in our interviews, we conclude that fear of sterility although present is not so intense as to motivate

young girls to enter into premarital sexual unions in order to demonstrate their fecundity. In fact when describing their adolescent sexual experiences, a number of the respondents³⁾ expressed far more concern about falling pregnant, in what they considered as undesirable circumstances. Offspring are desired but only within a specific normative context. Unregulated mating is the least approved of. Given these norms regarding the sexual behaviour of the unmarried female, our problem is one of determining which aspects of family life makes possible and facilitates the large-scale practice of premarital intercourse - which in turn exerts such a positive influence on fertility.

4. Socialisation

On questioning the respondents about their pre-marital sexual experiences we found that many of the women were remarkably naïve regarding sexual intercourse. As noted elsewhere eighteen state that they were at the time not really aware of what was happening to them. Even those that claim that it just happened, felt that they were not adequately informed about these matters. Twenty claim that their mothers never told them anything, while eighteen said that their mothers merely told them to stay away from boys without giving any reasons. Surprisingly enough there appears to be considerable ignorance concerning the relationship between intercourse and conception. } NB.

3) On questioning the respondents about their pre-marital sexual experience we found that a surprisingly large number of them expressed considerable ignorance concerning the relationship between intercourse and conception.

For example :

"Ek het nooit geweet ek kan swanger raak as ek met 'n man slaap nie. Ons was nog te jonk en my ma het nooit sulke dinge met ons gepraat nie".

"Ek het nie eers geweet wat gaan aan nie. Ek het nie eers geweet waar kinders vandaan kom nie".

"Ek het nie die eerste keer geweet ek kan swanger raak nie".

It is, however, probable that a number of these women were not as naïve as they led us to believe. At the time of interviewing we gained the impression that in a number of cases ignorance was used as a means of covering or even rationalizing their own feelings of guilt. Furthermore, it was felt that respondents were not always telling the truth, particularly those who by gesture or word betrayed shame or guilt concerning their earlier sexual life. It is more than likely that a number of these women began their sexual life at an earlier age and had more unions than they would admit to having had. A few of the respondents disclosed that they were curious to know the facts of life, but too shy to ask their mothers. In these instances knowledge was acquired from other girls. It is, however, surprising that their desire to know and the freer associations between peers did not lead to a much wider spread of information. This may be due to restricted communication resulting from certain childrearing practices. This will be discussed at a later stage.

We also expected that the overcrowded homes in which the majority of our respondents were reared would offer very little privacy during sexual intercourse. The respondents, however, assured us that their

parents went to considerable trouble to protect them from observation of intercourse. Table 18 shows that out of a hundred women only thirty shared a room with both parents. Most of these thirty informed us that they never saw or heard their parents having sex.

TABLE 18.

THE SLEEPING ARRANGEMENTS EXPERIENCED BY THE RESPONDENTS AS CHILDREN

	<u>Number</u>
Shared a room with both parents	30
Females only per room	51
Male and female children shared room	8
Other male and female adults shared a room	4
Slept alone	7
	<hr/> 100 <hr/>

In discussing their present sleeping arrangements the respondents emphasized the importance of taking precautions in order to prevent offspring from observing sex taking place. Out of a hundred, twenty-seven couples share a room with children over the age of six. The majority of these women verbalized dissatisfaction with this state of affairs. As they themselves point out, the lack of privacy interfered with their normal sexual functioning. This leads to frustration and in some cases to strained relations with partners.

We may conclude that in a large number of cases our respondents merely drifted into sexual unions, that inadequate knowledge concerning the consequences of such action was at least in part responsible for their relatively youthful initiation into sex. Lack of knowledge regarding

these matters is largely a function of inadequate communication between mothers and their daughters. Rather than discuss matters relating to sex with our respondents their mothers merely warned them to keep away from boys. This blockage of contact in turn appears to be the result of an erroneous belief on the part of the mother, that refraining from discussing sex intercourse with her daughter will keep the daughter in ignorance and thus prolong abstention from its practice. In addition to protecting daughters by withholding information restriction is further related to the economic demands parents have of their children. }

(a) The demand for help in the home

Although we did not endeavour to systematically investigate the duties done by children in the family, the general feeling among our respondents is that children as they grow older should contribute to and share in the household tasks. From interviews with our respondents we gained the impression that many of them during their childhood led burdensome lives. In relating their childhood experience a number of them told how they were constantly used for such tasks as running errands, looking after younger children, house-cleaning, etc. They worked hard and long at these duties. Remaining at home is thus a burden to young girls and they often aspire to leave home and find accommodation elsewhere in order to escape these pressures.

(b) The expectation for help in old age

We asked the respondents whether "children should take care of their parents in old age". Eighty answered in the affirmative, while seventy-four claim that they themselves expect financial aid from their children when they are old. The hope of security in old age appears to be one of the main } NB, reasons for desiring children. We asked the respondents to specify why they are of the opinion that "one of the most important things in life is to have children". Twenty-nine mentioned security in old age as their primary reason. The following examples are representative of their opinions.

"Kinders sal eendag as hulle groot is baie vir 'n mens beteken. As ons eendag oud is kan hulle weer vir ons sorg".

"Eendag as ek nie meer kan iets doen nie, kan hulle darem vir my iets inbring".

"Dit is waarvoor jy kinders grootmaak, is om jou op te pas as jy die dag oud is".

"I felt I wanted one child who could look after us and be a companion to us in old age. I was very young when my father died and then I looked after my mother".

The majority of the respondents mention that they worked for their parents prior to having families of their own, and hence expect the same treatment from their own children.

For Example :

"As my kinders groot is en werk sal ek verwag dat hulle vir my moet geld bring. Ek het dan altyd my geld vir my ma gegee. My kinders moet dus dieselfde doen".

"Hulle moet vir my werk. Ek het vir my ouers gewerk tot die dag wat ek getroud is".

"Ek het vir my ouers hoeveel jaar gewerk. Ek verwag hulle moet dieselfde doen".

Our data further indicates that it is regarded as the mother's right and obligation to control her unmarried and working children's earnings. A number of the respondents claim that minor children are too inexperienced and young to administer their own money. Another view prevalent amongst our respondents is that the mother has sacrificed her life for her children and now it is their turn to work for her and ease her circumstances. Statements such as :

"Ek het my kinders so swaar grootgemaak, nou kan hulle darem weer vir my werk".

are typical of the opinions verbalized by these women. In fact the demand of and the desire for economic aid, that mothers have of their daughters, appears to be related to the tendency to keep daughters young for as long as possible in order to postpone the age of marriage long after reaching sexual maturity. Many of the respondents expressed ambiguity about actually receiving any such help from their children. A number of them qualify their desire for economic aid and claim that children should help financially, only if they are in the position to do so.

"As hulle dit kan bekostig om vir my te gee kan hulle gee. Ek dink daar sal darem ene wees om agter my te kyk".

"As hulle in die vermoë is om my te help,
verwag ek dat hulle dit sal doen".

Amongst our respondents there is the belief that children will help as long as they are strictly and correctly brought up. ^{3, 105} This of course requires that parents inculcate qualities of docility and obedience in their children. The achievement of this goal presents a major problem to these mothers particularly in the face of a changing world as they themselves point out. Many of them fear that their children will be led astray as a result of competing influences and loyalties often taking the form of undesirable mates or buddies. Once children leave the home it becomes even more difficult to combat these so-called alien influences.

"Die kinders van vandag is anders, hulle sien
nie meer om vir hulle ouers nie".

"Jy kan nie op vandag se kinders staatmaak nie,
hulle luister dan nie eers meer na hulle se ouers
nie".

"As hulle eers uit die huis is en met maats deur-
mekaar is, dan sien hulle nie meer om na jou
nie, veral die jongetjies kinders".

There appears to be general consensus amongst the women that girls are far easier to control than boys. Many of them verbalize that daughters are more attached to their parents. Compared with boys they are also more apt to do what parents tell them and are thus, from the economic point of view, a better investment. Furthermore, the fear is far greater that

boys once they leave the house, will discontinue to contribute economically to the household.

This belief that girls have a greater sense of responsibility and are more reliable is consistent with their conception of the adult male role in working class society.

5. The role of the mother in the family

In a previous chapter we mentioned the important role played by the mother in many lower class Coloured families. It is suggested that maternal dominance is not merely the manifestation of a different set of definitions of parental roles, as between middle and working class families. Rather than resting upon legitimized authority, our data seems to indicate that the mother's dominance is the result of other factors.

Parsons suggests that the structure of the nuclear family in Western society is divided into four basic status-role types. This division is the result of differentiation along two axes namely the hierarchy of power and that of instrumental-expressive function, as symbolized by the differences in age and sex. The parent-age status places both father and mother in a position of authority vis-a-vis their offspring, while the expressive-instrumental differences are related to the external and internal functions of the system.

"The area of instrumental function concerns relations of the system to its situation outside the system, to

meeting the adaptive conditions of its maintenance of equilibrium, and "instrumentally" establishing the desired relations to external goal-objects.

The expressive area concerns the "internal" affairs of the system, the maintenance of integrative relations between the members, and the regulation of the patterns and tension levels of its component units". 4)

The initial relationship within the family centres on the mother-child attachment. During the earlier stages of socialization the mother is internalized as an object of gratification in a diffuse sense. She is the main comforter and source of security. By her special initial relation to the child she is thus the most likely person to be the expressive focus of the system. The fact that the father is at work, while mother stays at home, although during father's absence her activities may be primarily task-oriented, further serves to symbolize her integrative function. The father on the other hand is predominantly concerned with instrumental or task activities. These activities involve manipulating the facilities of the object world, so as to provide the family with food, clothing, shelter, etc. The father must by definition provide for the family; although the mother may supplement the household income by accepting outside work, the father still remains the main provider and as such is responsible for the support of wife and children. The role of the father is thus primarily anchored in the occupational world which is firstly part of the occupational system. His occupational role is however interlocked with his role as father in the family, in that while he is carrying out a piece of work, he is at the same time performing certain functions for the family.

4) Parsons, T. and Bales R. : Family, Socialization and Interaction Process , p. 47.

In this respect the father's work is both a role in the occupational system and the family system. The occupation of the father largely determines the standard of living of the family and their status in the community and in this sense he is the main status-giver and income earner. The centering of attention on instrumental activities requires a rational attitude toward the external situation, in terms of Parson's pattern-variables an attitude of specificity, affective neutrality, universalism and achievement orientation, which in turn places restraint on the emotions towards other members of the system.

To maintain the equilibrium of the system, the family must move in an integrative-expressive direction (at some stage) i.e. activities aimed at releasing inhibition, showing warmth and affection towards one another and through supportive behaviour reinforcing their common membership. While the mother does perform certain instrumental tasks, her concentration on the internal affairs of the family largely prevents her from focusing primary attention in an instrumental direction.

From the study of experimental small groups Bales⁵⁾ observed the emergence of a similar pattern of differentiation. He noted that there is a tendency for a task leader and a sociometric star to appear and suggest that "this order of differentiation is generic to the "leadership" element in small groups."⁶⁾ The instrumental-adaptive role is focussed firstly on the problem of the external situation with which the group is faced, and secondly with problems such as the regulation and the management of the group process. He compares these roles with those

5) Parsons, T., Bales, R., and Shils, E. : Working papers in the Theory of Action, Chapter 4.

6) Parsons, T., Bales, R. : Op. cit., p. 23.

of technical expert and the executive in a business organization.

Similarly the management aspect of the father's role, requires that he performs certain regulatory and disciplinary functions. Although the distribution of authority in the democratic family is legitimized on a different basis as compared with the "patriarchal" family type, the father still remains the chief executive member or in Bales' term the "top man". Father is obeyed because of his good attributes rather than being an authoritarian figure. He is also expected to be the sterner disciplinarian, firstly with regard to the training of sons and secondly, when mother's efforts to control fail. Because of the constraining quality of these activities, this may arouse negative and hostile reactions. By focusing positive effect on the mother, these negative attitudes can be diverted. In this manner the solidarity and the integration of the family as a system is sustained. The mother as a person can be warm, responsive and conciliatory without negatively affecting the system's movement in the instrumental direction, as she is not held responsible for the movement in this direction but rather leaves this to the father.

Figure 1 represents the basic role structure of the nuclear family.

	<u>Instrumental</u> Primacy	<u>Expressive</u> Primacy
Superior 1	Instrumental Superior Father (husband)	Expressive Superior Mother (wife)
Inferior	Instrumental inferior son (brother)	Expressive inferior daughter (sister)

As formerly indicated the dominant mother was found to be a fairly common feature amongst the families studied. Many of these women as we have already mentioned, led us to believe that their dominant position was not the result of free choice, but was rather imposed on them.⁷⁾ We cannot therefore conclude that the position of maternal dominance is based on legitimized power or that it is a cultural norm. The only legitimized aspect of the mother's dominance is her status in the age structure. In addition to the parent-age status the mother is often forced to perform instrumental activities, in the absence of the father, particularly during the earlier years of the child's life. She acquires contrary to her desires, a status as pseudo-father. The attempts on the part of the mother to supply the qualities of the father is by no means legitimized. The following more detailed analysis of the parental roles reveals this fact.

The majority of our respondents are of opinion that the mother represents the more affectionate and warmer aspects of parenthood. The image they have, is that of the loving and understanding mother. } Forty of the respondents mention the emotional pleasures derived from parenthood as one of their main reasons for desiring children. They regard children as the main source of companionship and mention that they feel closer to them than to anyone else. For example:

"Sonder kinders is 'n huis leeg want daar is geen lewe nie".

"Hulle is altyd geselskap vir 'n mens veral as jy so baie alleen is".

7) See Chapter 4.

"My kinders beteken vir my alles in die lewe, want sonder hulle is daar geen liefde nie".

"Kinders is die pa gehoorsaam, maar het hulle ma lief. Hulle praat ook baie meer met haar".

Questions aimed at determining the respondents' views on the father's role in the family further serves to emphasize the importance of the role of the female as the emotional focus in the parent-child relationship.

The majority of the respondents feel that both father and mother should help with the counselling and management of children. That while the mother's activities centre around the nurturing of children, the father's advice and support is of vital importance when major decisions regarding their future must be made. Eighteen of the mothers in this respect mention the father's more worldly knowledge and experience. Almost half the women cite the importance of the father in backing up the mother in her efforts to control children and if necessary implementing her decisions by taking more drastic disciplinary measures. A number of these women feel that children have more respect for men.

The following quotations represent their attitudes :

"Ek praat die heeldag maar hulle luister niks nie, want ek is tog maar net 'n vrou".

"My man kan die kinders beter in toom hou want hulle is bang vir hom".

"Hy praat net een keer en dan spring hulle".

They find sons particularly difficult to control, hence the father is required to supply the harsher forms of discipline.

"Veral seunskinders dink jy speel met hulle en maak net soos hulle lekker kry".

"Seuns is bang vir die pa, maar steur hulle nie aan die ma nie".

Twenty of the respondents verbalized that the father as head of the household should carry the major responsibility and that his decisions should be final.

A variety of factors however contribute to the distortion of the mother's relationship to her children. The more intimate side of the mother-child relationship is often obscured by those aspects of the mother's contact with her offspring which demand strictness and docility, particularly in the absence of the father often during the earlier years of childhood. In our sample we found that of the eighty women on whom we have detailed information, forty-five had children prior to marriage. Of these, twenty had one, thirteen two, and twelve three or more "voorkinders", (a term often used to refer to pre-marital offspring).

Since the consensual union has a low status among the respondents we anticipated that there would be a tendency to resist this type of relationship. It is generally felt that cohabitation negatively influences a girl's opportunities of bringing about a successful marriage. Once she enters into a consensual union her position with regard to marriage becomes less favourable. It is inevitable that the community will know about the existence of the relationship. This socially places her in a position that the single status never does, even though

she may be involved in a sexual relationship. Not only is she deprived of the full status of a married person, but at the same time is denied the freedom and mobility of a young girl.

We found that even in the case of a daughter becoming pregnant the mother will accept her back in the home, rather than encourage her to live with the father of the child. Thirty-nine of the forty-five women who had illegitimate offspring mention that they continued living with their parents or parent substitutes such as a grandmother, or returned to their parents' home if residing elsewhere, to have their babies. A number stated that their mothers expressed anger and showed agitation when they became pregnant.

Numerous anthropological studies have noted the mother's anger in this respect. Kerr⁸⁾ interprets this phenomena also found among lower class Jamaican family life as a "ritual" while Blake⁹⁾ is of opinion that the "mother's anger stems from a number of causes inherent in the mother's authority over the girl". Firstly the daughter's behaviour is viewed as an act of defiance against the authority of the parent and secondly, there is the matter of appeasing community opinion.

The initial interest of the father in his offspring in these instances was mostly of a casual nature. During their pregnancies these women received hardly any attention from their mates. Five mention that their mates visited them from time to time during this period and helped to support them, particularly towards the end.

8) Kerr, M.: Personality and conflict in Jamaica, p. 144.

9) Blake, J.: Family Structure in Jamaica, p. 78.

Twenty-six of the forty-five women received maintenance for their offspring. These women however, complain that payments were often irregular and sporadic. In view of the need for support, they were forced to look for work, leaving their offspring in the care of the grandmother. This leads to a reversal of roles. The mother's expressive role in the family becomes problematic. "By default" she is forced to take on instrumental authority, while the grandmother performs expressive functions. In her attitude towards grandchildren she is far more indulgent and permissive than is the case with her own children. The close relationship between the grandmother and her grandchildren has often been described and is a well known anthropological fact.

Another feature observed was the tendency for partners to maintain contact with one another. The periodical payments made by the father, offered an avenue for communication, leading inevitably to a renewal of the sexual relationship. For example:

"Ons het nog met mekaar gepraat. Hy het gesê hy wil met my trou maar kan nie want hy moet nog vir sy ma werk. Hy was haar enigste sorg. Hy het so aangehou dat ek uiteindelik ingegêe het en hom toegelaat het om weer by my te kom".

The inclination of the mother to help and protect her daughter becomes less as she continues to have illegitimate children.

"My ma het my gewaarsku om by hom weg te bly, want hy is dan te sleg om vir sy kinders om te sien. Sy het kwaad geword en gesê, sy gaan nie meer vir my sêre nie. Ek moet maar self sien en klaarkom".

The continued pregnancies while decreasing the daughter's earning power, increases the household expenditure. The need for assistance } NB. both for the daughter and her offspring forces the mother to seek other ways of providing for them, even if by means which she has formerly found unacceptable. At this stage it becomes increasingly more difficult to ensure an early marriage. The presence of illegitimate children in some cases by different men reduces the marriage prospects of the girl considerably and the only alternative is to enter into a } NB. consensual union which under these conditions is regarded as better than no union at all. The male accepts this situation often with reluctance and remains irresponsible towards his wife and offspring. Under these circumstances the mother is forced to continue in the acquired role, and unless the father becomes interested in his family, remains the dominant and stable element. Table 19 compares the pre-marital births cross-classified according to the distribution of authority within the family.

TABLE 19.

AUTHORITY PATTERNS BY THE NUMBER OF PRE-MARITAL BIRTHS

<u>No. of Pre-marital births</u>	<u>Dominance Index</u>		
	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>Wife</u>
0	18	22	15
1	2	8	10
2	2	2	9
3 +	2	2	9
	24	34	42

This relationship is statistically significant at the 5% level.
(Chi-square .6 d.f. 14.46).

6. The decline of parental authority and the first sexual unions

Many of our mothers are of opinion that the girl's sexual activities should as far as possible be controlled. A means of doing this is to limit her contact with men. In a former section we have noted that the mother time and again warns the daughter to stay away from men. In this respect sexual exploitation by men is mentioned. At least twenty of the women point out that men are by nature sexually aggressive and thus inclined to take advantage of the girls' innocence and naivete hence the necessity to protect them. As the girl enters adolescence it becomes extremely difficult to restrict her and thus maintain this pattern of confinement. Precisely at the stage of her development where the girl becomes the object of male interest and requires protection, the mother is presented with numerous problems of supervision. The major difficulties of supervision stem mainly from conditions of poverty. } n.b.

In the first place the mother is often burdened with the care of numerous children. The inadequate incomes of families force large numbers of women to seek employment, often on a part-time basis. This means that the mother is away from home for at least a part of the day. Nine of the respondents related how they entered into their first sexual unions during such periods when there was a lapse in supervision.

"Ek het my vriend ontmoet toe my ma my gestuur het om te gaan brood koop. Ons het albei by die counter gewag. Toe het ons begin praat met mekaar. Hy het my gevra of hy my weer kan sien. Ons het mekaar toe skelm ontmoet, want ek het geweet my ma sal kwaad wees. Ons het lank met mekaar gesels. Ek weet nie presies nie maar 'n hele ruk. Hy het my toe gevra of hy na die huis kan kom. Ek was baie bang vir my pa want hy was baie kwaai. Toe my ma een oggend by die werk was, het ek gesê hy kan maar na die huis kom. My ma het my by die huis gehou om die jonger kinders op te pas. Hulle was siek. Hy het so mooi met my gepraat en na ons gesels het, het hy by my ingegaan. Ek was baie bang, want ek het nie geweet wat gebeur nie. Ek het ook nie daarvan gehou nie. My vriend het gesê dit sal lekkerder word. Daarna het hy dikwels gekom as my ma weg is. Net my suster het iets geweet maar ek het haar gesê om nie vir my ma te vertel nie. Ek het toe bang geword en gesê hy moet nie weer kom nie. Ek het nie eers geweet ek was so nie, ek was in daardie dae maar baie dom. My ma het dit eerste agtergekom".

Secondly, the economic objectives held by parents operate in a number of ways to undermine the pattern of confinement. The parents because they are eager and in many instances in need of financial assistance, send their daughters to work at a relatively early age. More than half the women in the sample were employed at the time they entered into their first unions. Mostly these women were employed either as domestic servants or factory hands. Domestic service often entailed living in. The lack of supervision in these cases has a telling effect as the following quotations show :

"Ek het huiswerk gedoen en ingeslaap. My vriend het altyd ons brood afgelewer. Ek was baie alleen en hy het my geselskap gehou".

"Ek het ingeslaap. Ek het my vriend by die "Cafe" ontmoet. Ek het niemand geken nie en was baie alleen voor ons saam gepraat het. Hy was baie goed vir my. Hy het so mooi gesels en vir my "Sweets" gekoop. Ek was seker alleen daarom het ek ingegee".

Fifteen of the women in our sample claim that they fell pregnant during the time they were employed and living away from home.

Even though living at home the working environment provides the young girl with some male contact. Ten of the respondents mention that they met their mates through their work, either directly, or through the mediation of girl-friends they became friendly with while on the job.

For instance :

"Ek was werkend by die koppies fabriek. My man het ook daar gewerk. Ons het mekaar na werk ontmoet en dan het ons saamgepraat. Ons het lank saamgepraat voor iets gebeur het.

(This relationship resulted in pregnancy).

"Ek het my man deur my vriendin ontmoet toe ek een middag na werk by haar gaan kuier het. Sy en ek het saamgewerk en ek het baie midde op pad huis toe by haar aangegaan. Ons het baie van mekaar gehou en sy wou hê ek moet haar neef leer ken. Hy was baie goed vir my en ons het lank saam uitgegaan voor ons omgang gehad het. Hy het met my getrou na ek swanger geraak het. Ek was baie lief vir hom en daarom het ek ingegee. Ons was tog van plan om te trou".

Another aspect of family life which appears to have a negative effect on parental control is the practice of child dispersal observed among our respondents. Fifteen of the respondents had children living with parent substitutes. A number of these children were given away at a

fairly young age, either to the mother, other relatives, or a girl friend.

This practice is viewed by the mothers as a form of adoption. The natural mother once she has disposed of the child has no hold over it, as is shown in the following quotation :

"Ek het die kind vir my ma gegee en nou het ek geen seggenskap oor hom nie. Sy het hom opgepas en noudat hy groot is moet hy vir haar werk."

These children were all out of wedlock babies and in the majority of cases given to the maternal grandparents. A good deal of child-dispersal also occurs during later childhood and early adolescence. This is often the only means by which parents can settle contradictory kinship demands, such as filial duties and local residence. In this case a young child may be sent to a grandparent because it is felt that he or she is old and incapable of looking after him or herself.

For example :

"My ma is oud en kan nie vir haarself omsien nie. Sy woon op die plaas en ek het toe maar my meisiekind gestuur om vir haar te werk. (Waarom woon u moeder nie by julle aan huis nie?) Sien ons huisie is te klein en my ma wil ook nie weg nie. Sy het al haar lewe daar gewoon".

"Ek moes my seun vir my ma gee om vir haar te werk. My pa is kortgelede dood en sy woon alleen op die plaas. As my seun nie daar werk nie mag my ma nie in die huis bly nie. Ek moes hom toe maar uit die skool neem al het hy nog nie Standerd III "gepass" nie."

It is probable that at this stage the break with parental authority and the transference of control to an older person will lead to confusion on the part of the girl. Resentment may result at being cloistered with an

older person for most of the time. Being isolated from siblings also causes the young girl to become very lonely, and may strengthen the desire to escape from this situation. The experience of our respondents themselves bears this out. Twelve of the women state that they were living with grandparents at the time they first became sexually involved. From their description of early childhood experiences, it was obvious that some of these women were dispersed shortly before the first union. For example :

"Ek het by my ouma gebly - ek moes na haar kyk. My ma het so baie kinders gehad dat sy my maar afge staan het. Ek het baie alleen gewees sonder my broers en my susters. Ek het my man deur die kerk ontmoet. Ons het lank met mekaar gepraat voor iets gebeur het. Ek het al liever vir hom geword en toe hy so mooi vraë het ek maar vir hom ingeggee. Ek was bang hy sou weggaan en dan sou ek weer alleen voel. Dit het gebeur toe my ouma eendag nie daar was nie. Toe ek so raak was my ouma baie kwaad. Sy wou my nie laat trou nie. Sy het gesê ek is nog te veel van 'n kind en wat weet ek van man vat".

"Toe my ma my weggegee het was ek baie kwaad. Ek het toe by my ouma weggeloop en by my vriend gaan woon."

Whether children are discarded during early infancy or at the time of adolescence, into the care of an older person, there is always the possibility that she may lack the physical strength to impose control. Furthermore she is probably less alert.

Finally the educational aspiration which the parents have for their children are incompatible with their restrictive childrearing practices.

The school provides the girl with opportunities for contact with boys. Numbers of the women in our sample met their future "boyfriends" and husbands at school.

The desire on the part of the mother to prolong childhood and the belief that this can only be achieved by withholding information, ill equips the young girl to meet the exigencies of adult life. As a result of a restrictive upbringing and lack of training in decision-making, the daughter often lacks the self-control with which to cope with her freedom once confinement breaks down. Her ignorance }_{NB.} about sexual matters makes her extremely susceptible to male exploitation.

The fear that parents will veto male friendships, forces many girls into secrecy. Nineteen of the respondents spontaneously disclosed }_{NB.} that they met their boyfriends secretly.

"Ek het my man skelm ontmoet sonder dat hulle daarvan geweet het".

"My ma het nooit geweet van hom nie. Ons het maar so skelmpies in die veld ontmoet".

"My ouers het hom weggeja en ek het toe altyd skelm vir hom gaan kuier in sy kamer by die hotel waar hy werk".

(These relationships all resulted in pregnancy).

The secrecy surrounding hetero-sexual relations reinforces the vulnerable position of the girl as the parents, under these circumstances, have no hold over the male should the girl become pregnant. Within this

situation there are distinct advantages in the sexual exploitation of women. Girls are easily seduced and in the instance of pregnancy the male is as we have seen in many instances released from responsibility. Even should the existence of such a relationship be known many families by virtue of the loose organization often lacks the means } MB. of retaliation in the case of male exploitation. Almost a quarter of the women in the sample were reared in fatherless homes and thus lacked male protection.

7. The reasons for delay of marriage and the precipitants of cohabitation

We are concerned for the purposes of this analysis only with those women who have illegitimate offspring.

Each woman was asked why she did not at the time she first became pregnant marry her sexual partner. The information on this point is not exhaustive because some of the answers were not deeply probed, but the answers suffice to show that poverty appears to be one of the major } deterrents preventing marriage.

Although we were unable to gain information about the income of males at the time of the women's first pregnancies, it is however, significant that at the time of interviewing the majority of women who had illegitimate children fell within the lower income brackets. Table 20 (below) compares the number of pre-marital births cross-classified according to the weekly income of households.

TABLE 20.

THE NUMBER OF PRE-MARITAL BIRTHS ACCORDING TO THE WEEKLY INCOME
OF HOUSEHOLDS

No. of illegitimate births	Family Income			
	<u>R30 +</u>	<u>R20 - R20.99</u>	<u>R10 - R10.99</u>	<u>R1 - R1.99</u>
0	13	18	19	5
1	0	3	12	5
2	1	1	7	4
3 +	0	0	6	6
	14	22	44	20

A number of the women spontaneously state that their mothers discouraged marriage on the grounds that they were too young and immature to face the responsibilities of married life as the following quotation shows :

"My ma was baie omgekrap toe ek swanger raak.
Sy het gesê ek is nog te jonk om te trou. Wat
weet 'n kind soos ek nou van man vat en die swaar-
kry van trou".

The belief on the part of the mother that the adolescent girl is too young to be burdened with a husband, hence the desire to postpone marriage to an age well beyond that of sexual maturity appears to be closely linked to other features of the social structure; in particular their expectation of filial duties.

As we have already noted, the majority of parents expect economic aid from their children. While children are still in the home, parents are more or less assured of assistance. This is not however the case

once they leave to get married. Parents realize that once a son or daughter enters into matrimony their primary loyalty is to the marital partner and whether or not they received any aid depends upon his or her generosity. Parents are thus motivated to postpone the age of marriage so as to ensure for themselves for as long as possible the benefits of children's earnings. At least twenty women mention filial obligations as one of the major reasons for procrastination.

"Hy het by sy moeder gewoon en eers agter sy moeder se dood is ons getroud. My man moes toe vir sy ma gewerk het, daarom kon ons nie trou nie".

"My man was sy moeder se enigste sorg en ons kon dus nie vroeër trou nie".

Generally, newly married couples wish to live away from their parents. For this, the husband must earn enough to set up the new home. An ideal which few lower class males can afford, and which usually conflicts with their filial duties. Outside wedlock this problem does not arise because concubines cannot demand homes of their own, or make the same demands as the legal wife. As previously noted, the status of cohabitation is low. } NB.

Concubinage tends to be preferred by lower class males because it provides sexual gratification and companionship without the overheads of marriage. In this respect it is interesting to note that a number of women point out, that whereas in the case of the marriage the male is expected to make an effort to support his legal wife, the woman cohabitating has no rights over her partner and is simply taking a chance.

"As jy sommer so by 'n man intrek vat jy 'n kans.
Jy het geen houvas oor hom nie".

Seven of the women mention that the lack of funds to pay for the wedding prevented them from getting married. We observed that a number of women regard the wedding ceremony as being of great importance. ^{3NB!} Even though a couple may have illegitimate offspring, the wife nevertheless wears a white dress and veil, while the husband must have a new suit. A reception is often held for relatives and friends. This requires capital which may take the couple some time to accumulate. As one of the wives, who at the time of interviewing was cohabiting, explained :

"Ons wou al getrou het maar ons het nog nie genoeg geld om vir die troue te betaal nie. My man sê dit lyk darem nie reg as hy nie ook 'n nuwe pak het nie. Nou wag ons maar nog 'n bietjie."

The wedding is a matter of prestige. As such it has an elaborate ritual, so that it can stress the high social and economic status of marriage. The extreme difficulty experienced by many lower class males to attain the standard of living marriage implies, helps to perpetuate the looseness of marital ties acquired under the slave system. Finally, cohabitation frequently appears to reduce the likelihood that couples will marry one another. As a relationship entailing few mutual obligations, cohabitation provides a poor "trial marriage". Eight of the respondents state that although they were keen to marry, they did not at the time wish to marry their respective sexual partners.

The reason being that their partners behaved in such a manner as to make them totally unacceptable as permanent mates; as one woman said :

"Hy was 'n slegte man en het maar gedurig by ander meisies rondgekuier. Hy het glad 'n kind by 'n ander vrou gehad. As ek met hom praat, het hy kwaad geword, en gesê hy sal maak soos hy lus kry. Hy het my ook baie geslaan. Hy was 'n vreeslike man. Ek wou nie by hom slaap nie, maar hy het my gedwing. Ek het later by hom weggeloop".

"Hy was nie 'n goeie man nie. Hy het slegte geselskap gehou en al sy geld uitgemors. Hy het baie gedrink en nooit na my omgesien nie".

Twenty-one of the females drifted into consensual unions with their first sexual partners. Information for these women shows that cohabitation was precipitated by pregnancy. Five of the respondents say that they were at the time employed and living away from home. Pregnancy made it impossible for them to continue to be self-supporting, and fear of the parents knowing about their condition prevented them from returning home. This left them with no alternative but to live with the man. Only one woman went to live with her mate out of choice, her reason being that she found life very lonely with her grandmother. Furthermore, the woman was very resentful at being sent to live with her grandmother at the age of entering adolescence. She interpreted this as rejection by her parents. Consequently, as an act of rebellion }_{NE}, she entered into a consensual union.

The remaining fifteen women were living at home at the time of their first pregnancies. Five seemingly left home to live with the child's father, because of continuous quarrels with parents, in particular with

the mother. Discord was primarily precipitated by the daughter's continued efforts to maintain contact with her partner, despite parental instructions to sever relations. This behaviour on the part of the daughter was regarded as flagrant defiance of parental authority.

The other ten women left home as a result of continued pregnancies and the parents' inability to financially cope with their daughter and her offspring. The financial plight of these parents forced them to accept a consensual union for their daughters even though this may be regarded as a poor alternative to matrimony. The financial liability of daughters at this stage left them with no other choice.

Twenty-one women drifted into consensual unions, and of these relationships, fifteen ended in dissolution. In most cases these women were faced with a financial dilemma. Eight state that they received only occasional maintenance from the fathers while seven were left entirely without support. These fathers had deserted and their whereabouts were unknown. In both instances the women say that they entered into second unions mainly because they needed help for themselves and their children.

Once a woman has illegitimate offspring her bargaining position in the marriage market is considerably reduced. To the male she becomes infinitely less desirable than if she had been without children. This narrows her circle of choice. Not only is her universe of selection extremely limited, but she is also in no position to demand matrimony, whatever her own personal desires may be. One woman poignantly

described her circumstances.

"Ek het by hom ingetrek want ek het nêrens gehad om te woon nie. Hy het niks gepraat van trou nie. Hy het ook nog 'n ander meisie waarvoor hy moet betaal. Ons het maar min geld om van te leef. Hy was ook nog lank van die werk af. Ek het baie swaar gekry toe ek alleen gewoon het. My ouers was op die plaas en ek het niemand gehad wat na my kinders kon omsien nie. Ons het in een kamer by my niggie gewoon. Sy wou ook nie altyd na my kinders kyk nie. Hulle was maar klein en ek het toe maar opgehou met werk. Dis toe ek hom ontmoet het. Hy het gesê hy sal my help en ek het toe met hom begin praat. Ek het hom maar twee maande geken, voor ons saam gewoon het. Ek het nie gedink hy sal met my trou nie want ek het te baie kinders."

Seven left their offspring in the care of relatives, seemingly to regain their single status and so enhance their position in the courtship market. Five state that they even moved to another environment, not only because of better employment opportunities, but also to escape their past.

For example :

"Ek het my twee kinders na my tante gestuur. Sy is nie baie sterk nie en kan nie uitwerk nie. Ek stuur gereeld geld vir haar. Die pa van die kinders gee ook soms vir haar iets. Sy het dit baie nodig. Ek het besluit om op 'n ander plek werk te soek. Dit is baie beter as die mense jou nie ken nie."

(This woman eventually married).

Whether or not a woman is able to dispose of her illegitimate offspring in this manner depends entirely upon the willingness of relatives to help.

For the women burdened with out-of-wedlock children, and with no other means of aid, cohabitation offers the promise of more stability than remaining single. Even though support may be inadequate, it is at

least better than nothing. Together with the wife's earnings, the family's income may be such as to maintain them on the subsistence level. Furthermore, the fact that the woman has a more or less permanent mate even though he may not be the legal husband, at least provides protection against the exploitation of other men. The single girl with illegitimate offspring is seen as easy-going and often becomes the "prey" of men who desire to have a good time. Unfortunately these women are in a poor position to deny a man for long. Although she may try to hold out for as long as possible, her position is often so desperate that she very soon becomes sexually involved. The mere suggestion of help, as the following quotation shows, motivates her to give in easily.

"Ek het hom maar kort geken, voor hy by my ingegaan het. Ek het gedink hy sal goed wees vir my en die kinders. Hy het altyd vir ons "sweets" gebring."

(This relationship resulted in an unwanted pregnancy).

Another reason for entering into a second union is the female's desire to prove her worth as a good wife and in this manner secure her position.

For instance :

"Hy het nie gepraat van trou nie. Ek het gedink ons sal meer geheg raak aan mekaar as ons saamwoon. Ek het baie goed vir hom gesorg en maar vir die beste gehoop".

The majority of consensual unions, however, proved to be lacking in stability. Information revealed by these women about their lives show that these associations are far more likely to dissolve than result in

marriage. Of the fifteen women who were deserted by their mates, seven were at the time of our investigation living with their third partner. Except for one couple who were in the process of becoming married, the outlook for the additional six was bleak - apart from providing bare necessities, the interest of these males in the welfare of their families was negligible.

From the analysis of our data we conclude that despite the relative frequency of cohabitation amongst the lower class, this association is not the socially preferred context of reproduction. None of the respondents in the sample began their sexual lives in this manner, they were forced into this type of union. Once a woman has illegitimate offspring, in some cases by different men, her social position deteriorates and cohabitation may prove to be the only available means of adjustment to her reality situation.

8. Conclusion

We have seen that in general our respondents regard marriage as the ideal context for childbearing. However, seventy-three of the eighty respondents conceived children illegitimately because many factors either delayed or deterred marriage;

- (a) The status of wedlock requires a level of living that very few lower class males can achieve. Rather than fail as husbands, men may prefer to cohabit with women. Our data suggests that cohabitation

offers men all the benefits of marriage without the liabilities.

- (b) Young women are easily seduced, despite their strict upbringing. Many lower class mothers work away from home and therefore cannot control and protect their own families.
- (c) The disposing of children from one home to the other as the need arises loosens family ties and hence the control of children. As a result, girls are not protected, while boys do not fear penalties for their sexual exploitations.
- (d) Young couples cannot afford to marry because they have to help support their parents. While mothers desire successful marriages for their daughters, at the same time, for as long as possible, they wish to ensure for themselves the advantages of their children's earnings. Many of the respondents are of the opinion that by withholding information about sexual intercourse and its attendant consequences from their daughters, they can prolong childhood and hence postpone marriage to an age well beyond sexual maturity. Ignorance renders a young girl extremely open to male exploitation once she is removed through economic necessity from parental supervision.

While desiring to protect their daughters, the respondents expressed very little concern about the sexual conduct of their sons. However, they are keen to retain the latter's financial contributions, hence they discourage a financially demanding relationship. Even should the son impregnate a young girl, the care of the illegitimate child becomes the responsibility of the girl and her parents. This frees the young man from all responsibility. In many instances these conflicting demands result in unstable mating and family patterns.

In short, the norms of the community cannot survive economic pressures. Women are frustrated because they have to make do with cohabitation where they hoped for marriage, or can only get married through bringing pressures to bear on their lovers.

CHAPTER SIX

CONTRACEPTION AS A FACTOR DIRECTLY AFFECTING FERTILITY

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CONTRACEPTION AS A FACTOR DIRECTLY AFFECTING FERTILITY

Introduction

The immediate factors influencing fertility can be viewed as falling into two categories namely involuntary and voluntary. The involuntary determinants would include the fecundity of couples, the age of the woman at marriage or cohabitation, prolonged breast feeding, separation between husband and wife, and finally the frequency of intercourse. The voluntary determinants would be induced abortion and the use of contraception.

1. The involuntary determinants of fertility

Fecundity refers to the physiological capacity of bearing a child and is the product of two factors; the capacity to conceive and the capacity to successfully end the resulting pregnancy. Although not measured, data on the fertility history of the respondents lead us to believe that the fecundability¹⁾ of couples did not differ appreciably. Involuntary pregnancy wastage (miscarriages, etc.) was 12.94%. Variations in pregnancy wastage among women of different socio-economic statuses was negligible.

We will thus not be far wrong by assuming that the average fecundity was approximately the same for all socio-economic groups.

1) "Fecundability" is a term used to refer to a couple's average monthly chance of conception during full exposure. For a detailed discussion of the problem of measuring fecundability see Chapter IV of Westhoff, C. F., Potter, R. G., Sagi, P. G., and Mischler, Elliot : Family Growth in Metropolitan America.

A vital factor influencing fertility is the age of the female and to a negligible extent that of the male. The reproductive powers of both the male and the female start with puberty and in the case of the female ceases with menopause. The female thus has a given number of years when she has the biological capacity to conceive. Hence the age at which she enters into her first sexual union; and the number of these years spent in marriage or cohabitation affect her total fertility.

In Chapter five we have mentioned the relatively youthful age at which the majority of females in the sample began their sexual lives and the positive effect this has upon fertility. The mean age of births for all first pregnancies in the sample was 20.47 years.

Unregulated mating and the relative instability of sexual unions experienced by a number of our respondents seems to exert a negative influence on fertility. Although we have not calculated the loss of reproduction due to abstinence, resulting from delayed matrimony, it is probable that the fertility of these couples would have been higher, had separation after the beginning of their union not been prolonged. The total number of pregnancies lost to the nineteen women who experienced more than one union was measured by calculating the time spent by each woman in a celibate condition at periods after entering into her first union. The total number of pregnancies lost constitutes only 1.9% of the actual number of pregnancies for the entire sample.

The negative effect of unstable unions on fertility is thus negligible and we may conclude that the women in our sample were exposed to conception for most of their childbearing years.

Lactation delays conception by inhibiting ovulation and hence menstruation. To quote Guttmacher :

"Lactation's delaying effect on reimpregnation has a two-fold mechanism. First, it postpones the return of the menses; second even when the menses return during lactation the first few menstrual cycles are frequently anovulatory".²⁾

Although much research is still required to determine the exact limits of effectiveness of nursing as a method for delaying pregnancy, it is generally accepted that on the average it does delay return of fecundity of the female after delivery. Doctors are, however, careful to point out that there are wide variations among females in the extent to which this mechanism operates.³⁾

The majority of the women in our sample breast fed their children, often until they became pregnant again. (Only fifteen prepared other foods for their babies). These women mainly nursed their infants for reasons of nutrition. Mother's milk is far cheaper than buying other foods, hence it is the preferred diet for an infant.

2) Guttmacher, A.F. : Fertility of Man, in Fertility and Sterility, Vol. III (May - June 1952) p. 284.

3) Henry, L. : Intervals between confinements in the absence of birth control, Eugenics Quarterly (Dec. 1958) p. 204.

Fifteen of the respondents state that they prolonged nursing as a means of delaying conception. Ryder ⁴⁾ notes that it is a widespread belief, found in a variety of areas such as India and the Southern United States, that the mother cannot become pregnant while breast feeding.. In these instances prolonged breast feeding can with justification be treated as a voluntary rather than an involuntary deterrent of fertility. NB.

Our information on frequency of intercourse appears to be relatively inaccurate.

Each of the women in the sample was asked how many times per week she had intercourse with her husband or lover. This question was one of the most sensitive in the interview. Ten of the women refused to answer. Many of the responses were vague and off hand. On the whole they lacked plausibility; not even the expected decline in coital frequency over time within marriage as shown in Table 21, was observed.

TABLE 21.

<u>WEEKLY COITAL FREQUENCIES BY AGE OF RESPONDENT</u>					
Age	<u>C o i t a l F r e q u e n c y</u>				Number of Cases
	Less than once a week	1	2	3 +	
20 - 24	0	5	3	7	15
25 - 29	0	5	11	11	27
30 - 34	0	6	8	10	24
35 - 39	0	9	7	3	19
40 - 44	2	1	1	1	5
	2	26	30	32	90

4) Ryder, Norman, B. : The Study of Population, p. 421.

The reported coital frequency, as seen from the above Table, varied from less than once a week to four times per week. The mean weekly coital frequency for the sample was 2.03. No relationship was found between coital frequency and income, education or occupation. Furthermore, holding age constant, the pattern of coital frequency differences was in no way related to the pattern of fertility differences.

2. The voluntary determinants of fertility

The voluntary means of birth control include contraception, induced abortion and sterilization. The question of induced abortion proved to be a very delicate one. Rather than directly eliciting information in the section of the questionnaire dealing with birth control, we decided to probe this matter in the pregnancy history. We asked the respondents to record the outcome of each pregnancy and in the case of those which did not end in live births, to specify whether they or anybody else had done anything with the intention of stopping that pregnancy. Of the hundred women interviewed only five admitted attempts at induced abortion, three of which seemed successful. Only two of the women in the sample were sterilized. In both cases sterilization occurred at a late point in the fertility history - the one woman after the ninth pregnancy and the other after the fifth.

Since sterilization therefore is of relatively small significance in bringing about a reduction in fertility, and since no reliable data is available on the possible impact of induced abortion, the remainder of this chapter will be restricted to a discussion on contraception.

3. Contraception

The effect of contraceptive practices on fertility is influenced by a number of factors; the percentage of women ever using such practices, the point in the marriage when birth control practices are adopted, the consistency of their use once attempts have been initiated and the skill with which couples use these techniques.

Each of these factors is taken separately and discussed as exhaustively as the data allows.

(a) The extent of birth control use

Ninety-four of the women in the sample have used or were at the time of investigation using some form of birth control.

In view of the large proportion using contraception it may seem strange that their fertility was exceptionally high.⁵⁾

Many of these women were however newcomers to the clinic.⁶⁾

Prior to that, their efforts were to say the least, sporadic, and mostly confined to withdrawal. In some cases occasional use of the condom was made. These techniques, as we shall later see, demanded too much on the part of the male, and hence their effect on the total fertility of these women was virtually nil.

(b) The point in the marriage when birth control was initiated.

Despite the widespread use of contraception amongst the respondents, these practices if started at a late date in the pregnancy

5) For a discussion on the fertility rate of the respondents, see Chapter 4.

6) Over two-thirds of the respondents had attended the family planning clinic for a period of less than two years.

history will obviously have a limiting effect on fertility.

As seen from Table 22, family limitation is on the average initiated at a relatively late stage. It is also clear that the time of initiation is related to income. This leads us to believe that birth control among the lower income groups is used as a stopping point rather than for the spacing of ^{no} children. This hypothesis is further substantiated by the fact that only thirty-five of the women mentioned spacing as their main reason for using birth control methods. The educational level of these women was somewhat higher than the average for the sample.⁷⁾ Time of initiation appears ^{no} to decline as education rises. Of the fourteen women who attended secondary school, eleven started birth control either before or shortly after the birth of their first child.

It is interesting to note that on the average a larger number of women who had illegitimate offspring postponed the use of contra-^{no} ception to a later stage. For this group the median pregnancy, after which first birth control method was started is 4.75 as compared to 2.18 for the rest of the sample. Furthermore, only nine women used contraceptives prior to the third pregnancy and these attempts at family limitation were sporadic. It might well be that lack of enterprise in choosing a marital partner and the pattern of "drifting together" as described in Chapter five intensifies a feeling that fate is in control of events

7) Except for two of these women, the rest had received at least six years of schooling.

TABLE 22.

THE POINT (IN TERMS OF PREGNANCIES) AT WHICH BIRTH CONTROL IS FIRST INITIATED
AS COMPARED WITH THE INCOME LEVEL OF FAMILIES

<u>Total Weekly Income</u>	<u>Before 1st Pregnancy</u>	<u>After 1st Pregnancy</u>	<u>After 2nd Pregnancy</u>	<u>After 3rd Pregnancy</u>	<u>After 4th Pregnancy</u>	<u>After 6th Pregnancy</u>
Minus R10	0	1	2	2	2	12
R10 - R19,99	4	5	5	6	3	16
R20 - R20,99	7	8	3	2	1	1
R30 +	1	7	2	1	1	2
	12	21	12	11	7	31

with the result that very little thought is given to spacing and limitation until a much later stage in the woman's childbearing years.

(c) The consistency of contraceptive use

Fertility histories have shown time and again that irregular or sporadic contraceptive practices actually nullify any usefulness of birth control. Once birth control is initiated, continued and regular use is thus a necessary condition for any reduction in birth rates.

In an attempt to ascertain the consistency of contraceptive practices once attempts have been initiated, we decided to classify the respondents according to regularity and length of use. A woman was classed as a regular user if she admitted to uninterrupted use of contraceptive techniques except on occasions when conception was desired. By these standards only twenty-five of the respondents qualified as regular users.

A long term user was one who had used contraceptives for a period exceeding eighteen months. In terms of this criteria fifty-eight women could be classified as a long term user. Table 23 shows the regularity and length of birth control use of current users.

CONSISTENCY OF CONTRACEPTIVE USE AMONG CURRENT USERS

Long term regular users	10
Short term regular users	15
Long term irregular users	48
Short term irregular users	10
	<hr/>
	83

When comparing regularity of contraceptive use with time of initiation, we observed that of the thirty-eight women who started birth control use after their fourth pregnancy, nineteen were irregular users, while five had ceased using a method and two were sterilized. This once again reinforces our contention that among a large portion of the lower socio-economic groups very little thought is given to spacing or family limitation, until some time after marriage.

It is only when these families feel the economic burden of large numbers of children that they make a desperate effort to end fertility. Effective contraception requires sustained effort of at least one of the partners and as many husbands, as we have shown, are not consistent in this, the entire responsibility is thrown on the women. }^{NB.} Many of these women by reason of background, habit and lack of experience, are unfit to carry this responsibility, with the resulting irregularity of use of contraceptive devices.

As anticipated⁹⁾ we found that contraceptive use was somewhat less consistent among families with illegitimate offspring.

Proportionately more of these families tended to be short term users as seen from Table 24.

TABLE 24.

CONSISTENCY OF CONTRACEPTIVE USE BY RATE OF ILLEGITIMACY

<u>Contraceptive use</u>	<u>Number of illegitimate children</u>				Total
	0	1	2	3 +	
Long term regular user	7	1	1	1	10
Short term regular user	6	3	5	1	15
Long term irregular user	30	11	4	3	48
Short term irregular user	4	3	2	1	10
Non-users	6	2	1	6	15
	53	20	13	12	98

On the chi square value the relationships between length of use and illegitimacy is significant at a little less than the 5% level.

Comparing age with length of contraceptive use we observed a curvilinear relation (see Table 25). Proportionately, a larger number of women (forty out of fifty-eight) in the

9) In Chapter 5 we have seen that, although the majority of women with illegitimate children do eventually marry, many of these families tend to be female dominated. The disinterested attitude of the father, in many instances, forces the woman into this position and as mentioned above, she is by virtue of her restricted upbringing ill-equipped to bear these responsibilities. Furthermore, these families are mostly from the lower income group. Their educational level is also on the average considerably lower than that of the rest of the sample. Only two out of the fourteen women who attended senior school bore illegitimate children, while five out of the six who had no schooling fell into this category. If we recall that both these factors are also associated with birth control use, lack of consistency in contraceptive practices among this group is not unexpected.

TABLE 25.

LENGTH AND REGULARITY OF BIRTH CONTROL BY AGE
AND NUMBER OF PREGNANCIES

	Under 25 Years old					25-34 Years old					35+ Years old					
	Number of Pregnancies					Number of Pregnancies					Number of Pregnancies					
	1 - 2	3 - 4	5 - 6	7 - 8	9 +	1 - 2	3 - 4	5 - 6	7 - 8	9 +	1 - 2	3 - 4	5 - 6	7 - 9	9 +	
Long term regular users	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	10
Short term regular users	1	2	2	0	0	2	0	2	1	1	0	1	0	0	3	15
Long term irregular users	2	3	2	0	0	0	13	10	7	4	0	0	1	1	5	48
Short term irregular users	0	3	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	10
Never or non-users	1	1	0	1	0	3	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	4	15
Sterilized	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2
	4	9	4	1	0	6	17	18	11	6	2	2	5	1	11	100

middle-age group are long term users. Differences in the length of contraceptive use between the different age groups can be accounted for by a number of factors. As formerly suggested the younger age group start their families earlier and are inclined not to practice spacing. In this respect it is interesting to note that not one of the respondents in this age category qualified as a long term regular user. In the older age group the relatively small proportion of long term users (eleven out of twenty-four) may be due to the fact that a large number of these women tend to be traditionally oriented. Despite the high incidence of exposure to birth control methods, it may well be that among users the delayed and erratic use of contraception largely nullifies the effectiveness of devices. Our data bears this out. In Table 25 we have compared the length and regularity of birth control use with the number of pregnancies experienced by the women in the different age categories and found virtually no evidence of differential fertility.

(d) Types of birth control practices

So far we have discussed birth control in general terms without referring to specific techniques. A number of techniques exist which range from almost perfect efficiency to low efficiency and for obvious reasons it is important to determine which of these are practiced. For the purpose of this discussion

we will divide the techniques into three general types:

natural (withdrawal and rhythm);

chemical-mechanical (condom, diaphragm, douche, jelly, cream and foam tablets); and

hormone control by oral drug administration.

Table 26 gives the extent of use of these types and their combinations.

TABLE 26.

THE GENERAL TYPES OF BIRTH CONTROL USED BY EVER USERS

	<u>Number of respondents who have used specified types only or combination of types</u>
Natural	2
Mechanical-chemical	7
Oral	13
Natural and mechanical-chemical	10
Natural and oral	3
Mechanical-chemical and oral	28
Natural-mechanical and oral	31
	<hr/>
	94

As seen from the above table a wide variety of methods were utilized by the respondents. During the earlier stages of the women's childbearing years withdrawal appears to be more extensively used than any other method. At least twenty of the couples practiced withdrawal prior to marriage and primarily as a means of preventing pre-marital conception. Due to lack of

self control on the part of the male, withdrawal was often not properly carried out - hence the high failure rate. Of all the methods used, withdrawal proved to be the least effective. Forty-four of the forty-six couples using this method became ¹⁰⁾ pregnant during use. The respondents themselves regard withdrawal with distrust and thus prefer other methods, which will be dealt with in Chapter seven. At the time of our investigation only eleven couples were using this method, often in alternation with another method, such as the condom or the diaphragm. The most popular alternations used were withdrawal and the condom. Even prior to marriage these methods were fairly often alternated with one another.

The use of the condom appears, however, to be so erratic and careless that its effect on fertility is minimal. Of the sixty-seven couples who had ever used this method, fifty-eight had at the time of interviewing, discontinued use. Many of these women claim that they could persuade their partners to use the condom only for short intermittent periods. This technique often proved to be too much trouble for the male, hence in ¹⁰⁾ many instances the woman was forced to resort to other methods should she desire to limit the size of her family.

Since respondents acknowledge very little use of the rhythm method, no more need to be said about this technique. ¹⁰⁾

10) Only three of the respondents claim that they relied upon the safe period. These women all had higher education and their husbands were employed in professional occupations.

Twenty of the women state that they had used the diaphragm, mostly in combination with jelly or foam tablets. If correctly adjusted the diaphragm in combination with a spermicide is almost 100% reliable. The diaphragm is however, not easy to insert, particularly in the beginning. The effective use of this method thus requires a level of skill which very few of the women possess. Because of these difficulties, the diaphragm was in most cases only used for a very short period. Six mention that they fell pregnant while using this method.

A number of the women continued to use spermicides only. Although more effective than the methods formerly discussed, the failure rate was nevertheless high. Out of twenty-six couples who used either jelly or foam tablets for discontinuous periods, seven women reported that they became pregnant during use.

The douche is used for health reasons rather than to prevent conception. Few of the respondents who have used the douche have associated it with birth control. Those who were aware of its dual function and who used the douche mainly to prevent conception and still became pregnant admit that they had perhaps waited too long after intercourse. Because of the high pregnancy risk this method is ineffective and few of the medical personnel at the clinic recommended the

douche to be used as a birth control device.

By far the majority of respondents used the pill. This method is easy to use and requires no co-operation from the male, hence its popularity. A number of the women admit that they did not use the pill consistently. It often happened that a month was skipped with the result that the failure rate was somewhat higher than it would have been had they used this method regularly.¹¹⁾ Despite the popularity of this method, twenty percent of the ever users discontinued use. This percentage is high considering that the respondents had been exposed to the pill for a relatively short period - ranging from six months to two years. The main conclusions to be reached from the foregoing would seem to be that the respondents are inclined to experiment with a variety of techniques in a casual and dilettant fashion. Very few couples use any one method consistently for any length of time. The majority soon tire of one method and then resort to another (Table 27). This results in a high failure rate, thus lowering the effectiveness of contraceptive use appreciably.

TABLE 27.

SPECIFIC METHODS USED BY PAST USERS COMPARED WITH CURRENT USERS

	<u>Past user</u>	<u>Current user</u>
Withdrawal	35	11
Rhythm	3	0
Spermicules, diaphragm, douche	36	3
Condom	58	9
Pill	15	60

¹¹⁾ Ten women report that they conceived because of irregular use of the pill.

Regardless of the specific method used, consistency of use appears to be strongly correlated with effectiveness, as seen from Table 28 (below).

TABLE 28.

THE NUMBER OF UNPLANNED PREGNANCIES BY REGULARITY OF CONTRACEPTIVE USE

<u>Number of unplanned pregnancies</u>	<u>Regular User</u>	<u>Irregular User</u>
0	23	9
1	2	30
2	0	12
3	0	7
	25	58

The difference is significant at better than the 1% level.

4. Conclusion

The data discussed in this chapter suggests that while the incidence of contraception is high, its effectiveness is low. It would appear that this ineffectiveness is due not so much to the kind of method used, but rather to the manner in which it is used. On the average the methods are started late. Variation in the time of initiation was observed between the different income and education groups. Once contraception is initiated, attempts to limit fertility are characterized by irregularity. In general, birth control tends to be directed toward closure of fertility rather than spacing.

To sum up, it would appear that despite the large scale practice of contraception observed among the women in the sample, effective utilization is still a thing of the future.

CHAPTER SEVEN

KNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD BIRTH CONTROL

CHAPTER SEVENKNOWLEDGE OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD BIRTH CONTROL

There are certain prerequisites for the achievement of effective birth control. Should a couple desire to limit the size of their family, the success of the attainment of this goal depends, as we have pointed out in Chapter six, upon the utilization of effective means. This implies that the couple is firstly aware of some means of limiting the size of their family. In terms of the potential effect on fertility the time when knowledge of these means was obtained is also of major importance. Secondly, there is also the question of the availability of these means, and thirdly, willingness to use them.

In this chapter we show the range of birth control techniques known to the respondents, the stage in the woman's childbearing years when knowledge of these techniques was obtained, and finally the attitude of respondents toward family limitation in general and techniques in particular.

1. Cognitive awareness of birth control

Since the choice of the respondents was limited to patients of a birth control clinic, none of them were totally ignorant of birth control methods. All had heard of at least one or more chemical-mechanical or hormonal means of conception control. A more discerning measure of knowledge is the number of methods known (Table 29).

TABLE 29.

THE NUMBER OF METHODS KNOWN BY EDUCATION					
<u>Education</u>	Number of methods known to respondents				
	1	2	3	4	5
Never attended school	0	2	2	2	0
Preparatory school	1	9	7	2	1
Primary school	3	11	16	27	3
Secondary school +	0	0	6	4	4
	4	22	31	35	8

As seen from Table 29 (above) there is a slight increase in knowledge as education rises. These differences are however so small as to be almost negligible. This was not anticipated and may well be due to the fact that many of the respondents had acquired their knowledge through the birth control clinic.

As seen from Table 30 (below) age differences are not discernible except in the age group 40 - 44 years.¹⁾ These women have almost reached the end of their childbearing years, hence the need to acquire knowledge has declined. Also, during the period when they passed through maximum fertility there were fewer facilities available for gaining information on birth control. This at least in part, accounts for their lack of knowledge concerning these matters.

1) Within the 40 - 44 years age group the mean number of methods known was 2.8 as compared to 3.3 for the rest of the sample.

TABLE 30.

THE NUMBER OF METHODS KNOWN BY AGE OF RESPONDENTS

<u>Age</u>	Number of methods known to respondents				
	1	2	3	4	5
20 - 24	2	3	5	8	0
25 - 29	0	4	14	12	3
30 - 34	2	7	5	9	2
35 - 39	0	5	5	6	3
40 - 44	0	3	2	0	0
	4	22	31	35	8

The differences between semi-urban and rural residence appear to be so slight as to be of no significance, as none of the respondents lived in the urban metropolitan conditions of Cape Town and the Peninsula.

(See Table 31).

TABLE 31.

THE NUMBER OF METHODS KNOWN BY RESIDENCE OF RESPONDENTS

<u>Number of methods known</u>	<u>R e s i d e n c e</u>	
	<u>Semi-Urban</u>	<u>Rural</u>
1.	2	2
2	13	9
3	20	11
4	27	8
5	7	1
	69	31

The pill and the condom are the methods that are most well known. See Table 32 (below). Next comes the douche, diaphragm and spermicides, followed by the "natural" methods - withdrawal and rhythm.

TABLE 32.

KNOWLEDGE OF THE VARIOUS BIRTH CONTROL METHODS

<u>Method</u>	<u>Number of women who know specified method</u>
Pill	98
Condom	96
Spermicides, diaphragm, douche	77
Withdrawal	61
Rhythm	14

2. The time of learning about birth control methods

The most widely known method prior to marriage is the condom.

Thirty-eight²⁾ of the women who knew a method before marriage, knew the condom, twenty knew withdrawal, three the safe period, and one had heard of the douche.

Table 33 gives a breakdown of the time when knowledge of the various techniques was obtained.

2) With the exception of a few of the women who had actually had experience with the condom, the majority had simply heard of this method. The above figure is thus not proof of detailed knowledge of or familiarity with this technique.

TABLE 33.

TIME WHEN RESPONDENTS LEARN ABOUT THE VARIOUS TYPES OF BIRTH
CONTROL METHODS

	<u>Withdrawal</u>	<u>Rhythm</u>	<u>Spermicides diaphragm douche</u>	<u>Condom</u>	<u>Pill</u>
Before marriage	20	3	1	38	0
Before 1st pregnancy	4	0	1	5	0
After 1st pregnancy	17	6	9	11	7
After 2nd pregnancy	5	2	11	9	12
After 3rd pregnancy	15	3	55	33	79
	61	14	77	96	98

Looking at the above Table we see that the knowledge women acquire }
prior to marriage is only a small portion of what they eventually learn. } NB.

Most of the modern methods such as the pill and the diaphragm are learned relatively late in the woman's childbearing years. By far the majority of women had heard of the pill only after their third pregnancy. We found that the birth control clinic was their main source of information. Many of these women heard about the pill for the first time only after attending the clinic, but it must be remembered that the pill has come into use only recently.

3. The psychological acceptability of birth control methods

Our data suggests that marital partners possess different frames of reference for viewing fertility. Lack of consensus about family size goals and the means of achieving these goals act as a barrier to communication

between husband and wife, with the result that joint action is to a large extent blocked. }_{NB}

The uneven distribution of responsibilities described in a former chapter places the woman in an extremely vulnerable position. Men often do not feel the pressure of too many children, hence it is more than likely that they will react less favourably to the idea of implementing family size goals. Our data bears this out. Many of the men as we will see tend to have negative or disinterested attitudes toward family planning. This results in an unwillingness to co-operate. On the other hand the women, although they are in many instances handicapped by ignorance, particularly in the earlier stage of their married life, are markedly in favour of family limitation.³⁾ The realization of family size goals thus depends largely upon the woman's ability to utilize effectively, means, so as to achieve the desired ends. }_{NB}

4. Male objections to family limitation

Twenty-three of the respondents state that their husbands disapprove of any form of voluntary fertility control. Their main reason for objecting to birth control use appears to be religious. These men typically believe that "God sends" children and that any interference with "His will" leads to damnation, as the following quotation shows :

3) The large scale practice of birth control as described in Chapter 6 is evidence of their positive attitudes toward birth control.

"My man wil glad nie hê dat ek iets moet gebruik nie.
Hy sê dit is sonde om in te meng met die weë van die
Here. Die Here sê hoeveel kinders 'n vrou moet hê
en sy moet maar tevrede wees".

After religion, the most important male objection to birth control use is that the female's health will deteriorate unless she continues bearing children until the end of her childbearing years, for example :

"My man wil nie hê dat ek iets moet gebruik nie
want hy is bang dat ek sal siek word as ek nie die
kinders kry wat ek moet hê nie".

The belief on the part of the male that contraception is detrimental to female health is particularly relevant with regard to methods such as the diaphragm and the condom. These devices prevent the semen, which they believe has the additional function of strengthening the female organs, from entering the vagina, hence continued use of them will eventually lead to a decline in the woman's health. As one woman, who requested her husband to use the condom, remarked :

"Hy wil dit glad nie gebruik nie want hy sê die saad
maak 'n vrou sterk. Dit is soos kos en as sy nie
genoeg kry nie sal sy siek word".

Many of the women state that they had similar beliefs before attending the clinic. It is however probable that instruction by an agency which is recognized and trusted by these women and the desire for small families, motivates them to challenge the validity of such traditional beliefs, while men do not.

A number of the men who do not overtly disapprove of conception control, expressed their negative attitudes by retreating and refusing to have anything to do with the matter. Nineteen of the respondents claim that their attempts to initiate discussion was blocked as their husbands refused to talk about this topic. By withholding his opinion the husband is released from all responsibility and is thus not obliged to co-operate. The woman, should she want to use birth control, has under these circumstances no other alternative but to utilize methods that require no effort on the part of the male. For instance :

"My man wil nie sulke dinge met my praat nie. Ek
het vir hom gesê dat ek die "pill" gaan gebruik,
maar hy het my nie geantwoord nie".

"My man sê hy wil niks daarmee te doen hê nie. Ek
moet maar self sien en kom klaar".

Only fifteen of the respondents state that their husbands encouraged them to do something about limiting the size of their families. In this respect ten mention that their husbands continually reminded them to take the pill.

5. Inter-spousal communication on fertility control

Many of the women, although they are of opinion that ideal family limitation should be the joint responsibility of both husband and wife,⁴⁾ were nevertheless reluctant to discuss these matters with their husbands. Fear of male disapproval appears to be one of the main barriers to communication. For example :

4) In this connection the respondents were asked the following question : "A couple have several children and decide that they do not want any more. Who do you think should take the responsibility for preventing them?" Sixty of the women felt that both the husband and wife should assume responsibility, twenty favoured the wife, sixteen the husband and the remaining four had no opinion about this matter.

"Ek het nooit iets vir my man gesê nie want ek was te bang hy sal kwaad word".

"Ek het geweet hy sal nie daarvan hou nie, toe het ek maar niks gesê nie".

When asked whether they ever discussed birth control methods with their husbands, twenty-one of the respondents answered in the negative, fifty-five state that they have only mentioned contraception to their partners, but never really discussed this topic. *communication.*

"Ek het maar net vir my man gesê dat ek na die "clinic" gaan. Hy het nie te veel daarvan gehou dat ek die "pill" gebruik nie en ons het toe nie eintlik weer daarvan gepraat nie".

In a number of cases discussion was initiated only because of the necessity for doing so. Many of the women who attend the birth control clinic were advised that the condom should be used prior to the pill becoming effective. Being a male method, the woman has no other alternative but to approach her husband and gain his approval. For example :

"Ek het met my man gepraat want ek moes hom vra om dit te gebruik. Hy was eers nie gewillig nie, maar het toe naderhand ingegegee".

The negative and disinterested attitudes that many of the males have toward family limitation thus constituted a barrier to communication between partners. The effect of this blockage to communication is that it prevents the sharing of knowledge and decisions about contraceptive methods. In this respect it is interesting to note that only

eighteen of the women in the sample mention that they learnt anything about birth control methods from their husbands.

In many instances the lack of consensus between husband and wife encourages the woman to follow a pattern of secrecy. Failing to gain the approval of their partners women may become secretive rather than discontinue use. Twenty-one mention that they were using the "pill" without their husbands' knowledge.

"Ek het vir my man gesê dat dit hoofpyn pille is want ek was bang hy sal dit weggooi as hy agterkom waarvoor ek dit gebruik".

6. The effect of unstructured mating on fertility control.

In a former chapter we have already described the haphazard pattern of mating and the negative effects this has upon family stability. The unstructured mating situation appears to generate sentiments of distrust between partners. The spontaneous explanation that respondents give of the negative attitudes of their partners toward family limitation suggests that the male's rejection of contraception is closely linked with his anxiety over the loyalty of his partner.

Any effort on the part of the female to practice contraception is regarded with suspicion as females only use "something" if they wish to deceive their husbands.

"My man sê 'n vrou gebruik net sulke goed as sy wil rondjol". J.N.B.

Men who have these fears typically believe that the only effective way to ensure female fidelity is to make the woman dependent by burdening ^{9 NB} her with numerous children and thus reduce the likelihood that she will misbehave. These sentiments seem to be particularly prevalent among those men living in consensual unions.⁵⁾ Although the man may not wish to commit himself, he nevertheless demands fidelity from his partner. One of the respondents poignantly verbalized the situation :

"Hy wil nie met my trou nie want hy wil nog buitekant die deur jol. Maar hy wil nie hê ek moet dieselfde doen nie, daarom gee hy my so baie kinders".

As anticipated, sterilization, because of its irreversible nature is the most disapproved of method. Once a woman is sterilized she is completely free from male control. For example :

"My man sê 'n vrou wat haar laat knoop doen dit net want sy wil buitekant die deur jol".

At least eight of the respondents mention that they favoured sterilization, but met with such strong opposition from their husbands that they were compelled to resort to other methods.

Next to sterilization the condom is the most disliked technique. Men reject this device mainly on the grounds that it should be used for promiscuous relations only. For instance :

"My man sê jy gebruik dit net as jy met rondloper vroue te doen het".

5) Out of the eight women who at the time of interviewing were not married, six said that their partners opposed family limitation.

7. Willingness to use specific techniques

Although the condom is one of the most well known methods it is also the most disliked by both men and women. Men reject this method as we have seen mainly because of its association with casual sexual liaisons, while women are of opinion that this method may be harmful. Many of the women are convinced that the condom will come off inside the woman, where it will remain and consequently cause a vaginal infection. The following quotation is typical of the views held by these women :

"Dit glip by hom af en glip by my in en glip nooit weer uit nie."

Once initiated, the reduction of pleasure in the sexual act coupled with a persistent belief in its harmfulness, accounts for much of the discontinuance.

TABLE 34.

<u>OBJECTIONS TO THE USE OF THE CONDOM</u>	
Injurious to health	23
Lack of confidence	3
Less sexual pleasure	16
Too much trouble	5
Expense	4
No specific reasons	7
	<hr/> 58

Withdrawal because it requires joint action is rejected by the majority of women. This is understandable in view of the disinterested attitudes

of many of the men towards family limitation. Even if the man is willing to co-operate the respondents still feel the woman is taking a chance, as the man unless he is highly motivated, is not to be trusted.

" Ek sal liewersiets anders gebruik want my man kry dit nie altyd reg nie. Hy worry ook nie so baie as hy in my mors nie. "

" Al sê my man hy sal betyds uittrek doen hy dit tog nie. Jy kan nie op hom reken nie. "

A number of the respondents expressed the opinion that men don't like using this method as it reduces pleasure in the sexual act considerably. Withdrawal can, if it is practised over a long period, lead to constrained relations which it is better to avoid, hence the preference for other methods.

The major objection to jelly, the diaphragm and the douche is that these methods are ineffective. A few of the respondents claim that the douche is troublesome especially if you have no bathroom facilities. A few also mention that jelly is harmful as it causes a vaginal irritation. The diaphragm proved to be far too complicated to use and was discarded after the first few attempts.

The pill is by far the most popular method; we have already pointed to the advantages of this method in Chapter six. Despite its popularity, actual use of this method is sporadic. A few of the women state that

they simply forgot to take the pill, while a few mention that they skipped a month because they had no money to pay for it. Others claim that the pill fatigued them and hence they decided to discontinue use for an interim period. A number of the women were of opinion that the pill is harmful as it causes clotting. Fifteen had discontinued use completely. Discontinuance is due mainly to two factors, male disapproval and a persistent belief in its harmfulness. Despite NB defects in the use of this method which render it so haphazard, it is suggested that motivation directed to the use of birth control in general renders it ineffective. It is difficult to be decisive regarding specific objections of the respondents to methods as their experiences of the various methods have been limited and fragmentary. However, when summing up the overall objections to individual methods there seems to be a certain amount of consensus among the respondents concerning the harmfulness and ineffectiveness of most of the methods. The principal objection to such methods as withdrawal and the condom focus on the problem of the man's motivation. The women are generally of opinion that the man is not to be trusted, hence any method involving male co-operation is to be avoided.

8. Conclusion

We have shown in this chapter that knowledge of contraceptive use is widespread. The range of knowledge is however uneven, i.e. knowledge about the more effective modern methods is learnt too late to be of maximum use. The majority of respondents learnt about the pill only

after the third pregnancy.

Lack of consensus between marital partners further diminishes effectiveness of birth control use. The women are overwhelmingly in favour of conception control but meet with considerable opposition from their husbands. The conflicting viewpoints between husband and wife in many instances act as a barrier to communication. This in turn prevents the sharing of knowledge and responsibility. The success of fertility control thus largely depends upon the woman's ability to utilize means effectively. Unwillingness on the part of the male to co-operate limits the range of means available to her.

The principal objections to birth control methods other than male disapproval, are fear of injuriousness of the method and the idea that the methods are ineffective. The alleged harmfulness of the methods are in most instances mythical, and the charge of ineffectiveness, although in many cases justified, often focuses on the technical difficulties.

Proper instruction in birth control methods and practices, given early in marriage and by an agency that is recognized as having professional competence, can do much to overcome at least three of the four major obstacles - ignorance, supposed injuriousness and lack of confidence in the method. It is, however, difficult to determine the extent to which the objections are rationalizations of other objections such as it being too much trouble, etc.. The haphazard use of the pill suggests that many women are merely paying lip service and that motivation is ineffective.

CHAPTER EIGHT

FAMILY SIZE ATTITUDES

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FAMILY SIZE ATTITUDES

We now turn to reproductive motivation. The inconsistent and casual practice of conception control as observed among the respondents suggests, as previously noted, that it is likely that motivation is not strong enough to overcome the difficulties inherent in the use of the specific methods. Hence the importance of examining the family size objectives of the respondents and the degree of their intensity.

We will first of all tabulate the family size ideals and preferences of the women in our sample. Another aspect of family size considered to be relevant is the number of children regarded as necessary before a family is considered to be large. This it is hoped will reveal more about the sample outlook. Secondly, the question of planning and spacing looms large. Hopefully this will tell us more about the intensity of family size objectives. Finally, in order to discover more about the norms pertaining to family size goals, the rewards and penalties of parenthood will be discussed.

1. Family size ideals and family size preferences

The women were asked three questions regarding their family size ideals and preferences.

1. How many children do you consider to be ideal?

2. More than how many children do you consider to be a large family?
3. If you were today a young girl about to be married for the first time, how many children would you like to have?

The first two questions are geared to the standards of the wider community and evokes a general rather than a personal response. The first question asks for the ideal family size of a married couple without any reference to the respondent herself, while the second question aims at determining whether there is a general norm about what constitutes a small and what constitutes a large family. The third question, because it forces the respondent to think back over her own experience and to make a choice about the number of children she would like if she could have it all over again, evokes a more private opinion.

Table 35 gives the number of children considered ideal by the women in the sample :

TABLE 35.

THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN CONSIDERED IDEAL BY THE RESPONDENTS

<u>Ideal Family Size</u>	<u>Number of Respondents</u>	<u>Cumulative Frequency</u>
0 - 1	0	0
2	5	5
3	11	16
4	41	57
5	6	63
6	26	89
As many as God sends, or doesn't matter	11	100
	<u>100</u>	

Almost half the respondents (forty-one) regard four children as ideal. This is by far the most popular choice. More than a quarter (twenty-six) regard the six child family as ideal, while only slightly more than one tenth (eleven) believe that three children presents the ideal number of children a family should have. More than one tenth (eleven) have no views regarding ideal family size. Seven of these women claim that it is up to God. The low frequency to be found in the five class-interval is probably due to the small sample.

Recent surveys in India¹⁾, Japan²⁾, Puerto Rico³⁾, and Jamaica⁴⁾, seeking information about ideal family size have revealed an overwhelming desire for small families. In all four these countries three children form the model desire. If our respondents are in any way representative of the Coloured population then the ideal family size among the Coloured community is somewhat higher.

Table 36 compares the number of children considered ideal with the age of the respondent.

Table 36 /

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- 1) Argawala, S.N. : A Family planning survey in Four Delhi Villages, in Population Studies Vol. XV, Nov. 1961.
 - 2) Taeuber, I.B. and Notestein, F. : The changing fertility of the Japanese, in Population Studies Vol. I, June 1947.
 - 3) Hatt, P.K. : Patterns of Human Fertility in Puerto Rico.
 - 4) Blake, J. : Family Structure in Jamaica.

TABLE 36.

THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN CONSIDERED IDEAL ACCORDING TO THE AGE
OF THE RESPONDENT

<u>Ideal Family Size</u>	<u>Age of the Respondent</u>		
	<u>Under 25</u>	<u>25 - 34</u>	<u>35 - 44</u>
1 - 2	0	5	0
3	2	7	2
4	7	22	12
5	1	5	0
6 +	6	14	6
As many as God sends or doesn't know	2	5	4
	18	58	24

The table above shows no differences in the family size ideals between the younger and the older age categories. Again these findings differ from those of the studies previously mentioned and might well be a reflection of the slow rate of social change. More detailed research utilizing a representative sample will however be required to establish this fact.

The following table compares the number of children considered ideal with the respondent's standard of education :

TABLE 37.

THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN CONSIDERED IDEAL ACCORDING TO THE RESPONDENT'S
STANDARD OF EDUCATION

<u>Ideal Family Size</u>	<u>Standard of Education</u>		
	<u>Secondary +</u>	<u>Primary</u>	<u>Preparatory or no schooling</u>
1 - 2	1	4	0
3	4	5	2
4	5	25	11
5	1	5	0
6	3	16	7
As many as God sends or doesn't know	0	5	6
	14	60	26

From the above it will be observed that the outlook between the middle and lower educational groups are similar. The differences between the upper and lower categories are however more discernible. Almost two thirds (nine out of fourteen) of the respondents who have attended senior school regard four or less offspring as the ideal family, while only half (thirteen out of twenty-six) of the respondents who have had less than four years of schooling hold similar views. As is to be expected we find that the highest proportion who "don't know" fall in the lowest educational category.

It is a well known fact that occupational status influence fertility values. Consequently the next table analyzes family size ideals according to

the occupational status of the respondent's husband.

TABLE 38.

THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN CONSIDERED IDEAL ACCORDING TO THE OCCUPATIONAL
STATUS OF THE RESPONDENT'S HUSBAND

<u>Ideal Family Size</u>	<u>Occupational status of respondent's husband</u>		
	<u>Lower professional and skilled</u>	<u>Semi-skilled</u>	<u>Unskilled</u>
1 - 2	1	1	3
3	2	5	4
4	7	16	18
5	1	0	5
6	2	14	10
As many as God sends or Don't know	1	2	8
	14	38	48

In studying this table one notices that 71.5% of the wives married to men in the professional or skilled group regard four or less children as constituting the ideal family, compared to almost 60% of the semi-skilled and 52% of the unskilled group.

We may conclude that while family size ideals are related to educational standards and occupation status, the differences apparent in the above tables are too small to be significant. (Tested by Chi-Square and found not significant).

As anticipated, no differences between the semi-urban and rural residence was observed. (See Table 39 below).

TABLE 39.

THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN THE RESPONDENTS CONSIDERED IDEAL
BY RESIDENCE

<u>Ideal Family Size</u>	<u>Residence :</u>	
	<u>Semi-urban</u>	<u>Rural</u>
1 - 2	4	1
3	7	4
4	31	10
5	4	2
6	17	9
As many as God sends or Don't know	6	5
	69	31

Replies to the second question as seen from Table 40 below show a wide scatter, ranging from four to thirteen or more children.

TABLE 40.

THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN REGARDED AS NECESSARY IN A FAMILY BEFORE
IT IS CONSIDERED LARGE

<u>No. of children regarded as necessary before the family is considered large</u>	<u>No. of Respondents</u>	<u>Cumulative Frequency</u>
4	4	4
5	6	10
6	24	34
7	5	39
8	12	51
9	4	55
10	18	73
11	1	74
12	14	88
13 + or Don't know	12	100
	100	

The wide distribution of responses may well indicate an absence of clear cut norms with respect to family size. However, it is noticeable that more than 60% of the informants only regard families with eight or more children as large, and 27% only regard a family as large if there are ten or more children. This seems to indicate that the concept "large family" is predominantly associated with a number of children which would by average Western standards indeed be considered very high.

Turning to the third question we see that the respondents desire somewhat smaller families for themselves, than the number they consider ideal (Table 41).

TABLE 41.

THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN PREFERRED BY THE RESPONDENTS

<u>Family size preferences</u>	<u>Number of Respondents</u>	<u>Cumulative Frequency</u>
1	2	2
2	29	31
3	13	44
4	37	81
5	2	83
6 or more	15	98
Don't know	2	100
	<hr/> 100 <hr/>	

While fifty-seven of the women are of the opinion that four or less children constitute the ideal family, eighty-one of the women desired four or less children for themselves. The median number of children preferred is 3.16.

2. Family Planning

If our contention that norms with respect to family size are uncrystallized is correct, we would expect many of the respondents to have inconsistent and ambivalent attitudes. Further probing revealed that the current family size preferences of the respondents were to a large extent determined by their individual and family experiences, and hence easily susceptible to change. One of the factors influencing their current preferences is the actual size of the family itself. Among the women who have families of five and more children we observed a tendency to either rationalize their high fertility, or on the other hand to react against it. In this respect it is interesting to note that both the women who desired only one child have had more than six children.

Three-quarters (thirteen out of nineteen) of the women who want families of five or more children or who don't care, have had five or more offspring, while among those women who prefer more moderate family sizes (one to four children) less than one quarter (twenty-five out of eighty one) have had five or more children. This pattern could be the result of rationalization or having reached their ideal, a very doubtful proposition in view of their low economic status.

We next questioned the respondents about their family size preferences before the birth of the first child. Seventy-three of the women state that they gave no thought to these matters. Even those who did think about this topic were uncertain of the number they wanted. The large scale indifference to family size during the earlier stages of

the woman's childbearing years bears out our former contention.

The women who did not think about family size also tended not to think about spacing and not to discuss this matter with their husbands.

Table 42 shows the earlier interest in spacing of both sexes as reported by the respondents.

TABLE 42.

EARLIER INTEREST IN SPACING OF THE RESPONDENTS AND OF THEIR HUSBANDS

<u>Interest in Spacing</u>	<u>Wives</u>	<u>Husbands</u>
Wanted to have children one after the other	2	0
Evenly spaced with intervals of two/three years between	35	25
As they might come	15	25
Doesn't know	48	50
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

When we study this table we notice that the husbands were even less interested in spacing than the wives. It is doubtful whether the respondents' perceptions of their partners' attitudes and desires are the result of discussion. We have already noted the dearth of communication concerning these matters. Hence there may well be a tendency for the women to assume male attitudes consistent with role-expectation of masculine irresponsibility. When we asked the respondents whether they had ever discussed family planning with their partners, thirty-four answered in the negative. Of the sixty-six who gave positive replies, thirty-eight said that they initiated discussion on various occasions but

received no encouragement from their partners and hence did not pursue the matter. In this one-way communication system the respondents have no alternative but to rely on the stereotyping of male attitudes.

We may conclude that in terms of ideal or preferred numbers of children the respondents tend towards the four child family. This preference is, as we have seen, not firmly entrenched and it thus cannot be said that new norms for a more moderate family have discernably evolved. The vague and uncrystallized earlier attitudes suggest that there is no socially sanctioned norm for either large or small families. Current preferences are determined by experience, hence fertility itself may be an influencing factor in shaping the preferences.

3. The rewards and penalties of parenthood

We have already seen in a previous chapter that an important factor in the desire for children is the value that the respondents attach to children as companions. This satisfaction is however obtainable from a few children. In fact the added burden of a large family may considerably decrease this pleasure derived from parenthood.

As formerly noted many of the women regard children as necessary for stabilizing the conjugal union. Here again only few children are necessary to fulfill this requirement.

The importance attached to children as a necessary instrument to assure economic security in old age has been stressed. Although the overwhelming majority of the respondents desire and expect financial help

from their children when they are adult, many of them have nevertheless verbalized an awareness of the uncertainties involved in these expectations. A number of the respondents in fact point to the economic burdens of large families. The financial inability to support a large family was often given as a reason for desiring less children.

The decline in the infant mortality rate results in parents having a greater number of living children if their fertility remains constant. This must inevitably lead to a realization of the very doubtful economic advantages of a large family.

Finally, many of the women complained of the hard work involved in childrearing. Men as we have seen do not easily forego personal pleasure in order to help with the domestic chores, with the result that the women are seldom relieved of the nervous strain of having children around. However, these disadvantages are only realized when they become a reality.

Family organization does not sufficiently equip couples to undertake fertility planning effectively. The lack of communication renders any joint decisions and action virtually impossible, with the result that very little conscious thought is given to family planning and spacing earlier on in the marriage. In most instances, as we have seen, birth control is practiced only when the pressure of too many children becomes a threat to living conditions. By planning is implied that a husband and wife decide consciously, and from their point of view, rationally, on the

number of children they want and on the time intervals between the children. This kind of planning means that one looks ahead and orients oneself to the future. Such an orientation to the future implies that a person believes that he can mould his own future and in this sense is master of his own fate.

"The idea of family planning and planned parenthood embody a particular world view. Planning to become a parent implies that the planner is an adult member of Society who makes a choice and who accepts the responsibility which the choice entails. This kind of planning suggests conscious thought and intention related to the alternatives of parenthood and non-parenthood and it implies that the individual considers the two alternatives available to him as voluntary neither of them inevitable or beyond his control". 5)

The situation in which our respondents find themselves indicates that they do not have this forward looking attitude.

5) Rainwater, L. : And the poor get children.

CHAPTER NINE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

CHAPTER NINE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

1. Summary

(a) The high growth rate of the Coloured population

The rapid increase of the Coloured population in the Western Cape is a threat to their socio-economic development and as such presents a problem which warrants investigation.

As pointed out in Chapter one, the Coloured deathrate, particularly the infant mortality rate, has declined substantially during the past few decades, while the birth-rate has remained relatively constant. The steady decline in the deathrate without any comparable changes in the birth-rate has resulted in an acceleration of the natural increase of the Coloured population. With the improvement of health and social services there is considerable scope for a further decline in the mortality rate and unless fertility is controlled, the tempo of increase will even be greater. The concentration of the Coloured population in the lower age categories resulting from the abovementioned pattern of births and deaths, places a relatively heavy burden on the adult population. Incomes that could be spent on educational and other services are used to maintain large numbers of dependants, in many instances on a very low subsistence level.

(b) The social and economic position of the Coloured in the total structure of the larger society.

By and large the Coloureds have internalized the Western type culture patterns. They share the same language, have in the main adopted the Christian religion, and are closely integrated into the Western economy of South Africa. While sharing the same cultural traditions of the Whites, they occupy a marginal position within the structure of the western society.

The existence of a large Bantu population has played an important role in shaping the attitudes of the dominant Whites towards race and colour. This in turn has affected the position of the Coloured population within the total social structure. As formerly mentioned, H. W. van der Merwe points out in his Social Stratification in a Cape Coloured Community that the assignment of status within the total multi-racial society is dependent on membership of a racial group. In social stratification terms, mobility is curtailed and the caste nature of the system is perpetuated. Although encouraged to achieve higher status within their own community, the Coloureds, by virtue of their non-white identity, are prevented from achieving high status in the total hierarchy. Therefore, as competitors with the whites in the economy, the Coloureds are handicapped by an unequal distribution of opportunities as well as through differential training and abilities. In consequence there are marked

differences in the occupational distribution between the two groups. While the Whites are concentrated in the white-collar occupations, the majority of the Coloured working population are semi-skilled labourers.

It is suggested that family instability is closely linked with economic factors. Research on the Coloured family has revealed that there are marked differences in the role structure between higher and lower class families. Our findings bear this out. These differences in turn have an important bearing on the reproductive behaviour of couples. Family relations amongst the higher class Coloureds are mainly father-dominated or syncratic, while the mother-dominated family predominates amongst the lower class. In many instances we have found that the mother is the only stable element in the parent-child relationship.

(c) The Aim of the Study.

In this study an attempt was made to determine the institutional patterns, attitudes, knowledge and practices pertaining to birth control by means of a series of case studies of a hundred women under 45 years of age and domiciled with a male for a period of not less than two years. As we were interested in gaining information with regard to attitudes towards specific techniques of birth-control, as well as actual contraceptive practices, we decided that it would be advisable to further limit the choice

of our respondents to women who had received instruction in the use of contraceptive devices at a family planning clinic.

This sample is thus not representative for the population as a whole. In the first instance incomplete families are excluded and secondly it is confined to that section of the female Coloured population who attend maternity clinics.

(d) Sample Characteristics.

By western standards the families studied could be regarded as poor. Few can be classified as middle or upper class. The educational and income levels are low. Only twelve families owned their own homes. The majority of husbands were employed as semi-skilled workers. The total income per family averaged R80.00 per month. The average family size was 4.4 children. Considering that the mean age of the respondents was 29.71 years, this is high.

Family relationships tend to be organised around the dominant mother. Interspousal communication is low, particularly with regard to such matters as family planning. Many of the husbands appeared to show little interest in the welfare of their children, and major decisions concerning the family were often left to the wives, hence the prevalence of the mother-centered family type.

The general outlook amongst the respondents appeared to be somewhat fatalistic. There was a tendency to accept one's lot in life rather than to plan. The aspirations the respondents had for

themselves and their children were limited.

(e) The Social Context of Reproduction.

The analysis in Chapter Five points to a discrepancy between the desired form of marital ties and reality.

Despite the high value attached to the status of marriage, this ideal is in many instances only realised at a relatively late stage in the woman's childbearing years.

Parents want to prolong for themselves, for as long as possible, the advantages of the earnings of their offspring. This goal can only be achieved if marriage is postponed to an age well beyond that of sexual maturity. A means of doing this is by limiting the sexual activities of daughters as far as possible. Many of the respondents, as we have seen, believe that ignorance will prolong abstention from the practice of intercourse, hence the tendency to withhold information. Lack of knowledge of intercourse and its consequences, however, render the young girl vulnerable to male exploitation once she is freed from parental supervision.

Many of the mothers are aware of these dangers, and our respondents in relating their girlhood experiences mentioned that they were, time and again, warned to stay away from men.

While mothers are anxious to protect their daughters from male aggression, they do not appear to be overly concerned about their

sons' sexual behaviour, as long as sons do not become involved in relationships which are financially demanding. In a number of instances the man's family was the main obstacle to marriage even though the couple had children of their own. As our data has shown it is the daughter and her family who are responsible for the care of an illegitimate child. From adolescence onwards it becomes extremely difficult to protect unmarried daughters. The mother is faced with numerous problems of supervision, and the breakdown of parental authority is inevitable. The restrictive upbringing as we have noted, ill-equips the young girl to meet the exigencies of adult life. She is easily led astray and at a relatively early age enters her first sexual union. Our findings show that eighty-three of the one hundred respondents became pregnant as a result of pre-marital intercourse. These factors appear to be, in part, responsible for the high fertility rate amongst Coloureds.

Once the young girl becomes pregnant a number of factors operate to prevent marriage. Firstly, ineffective marital organisation, and the pattern of secrecy, surrounding many youthful liaisons, absolves the male from all responsibilities. Secondly, many of the respondents have internalized the ideal of the nuclear family. This expectation implies that a newly wed couple should establish a home of their own independent of that of their families of orientation. Obligations dictated by kinship ties are in many

instances incompatible with these rules of neo-local residence. Hence, even in the event of pregnancy the marriage is often postponed to meet these filial duties.

Thirdly, marriage is identified with a standard of living that many of the lower class males are unable to provide. In view of this fact men may meet the demands of sexual desires and the need for security and companionship, by engaging in cohabitation - an institution meeting these needs without the role-strains imposed by entering into a socially approved full-scale marriage with its legally binding ties.

The absence of the father, either physically or psychologically, particularly during the earlier years of the child's life, forces the mother into a position of authority, which many of the women accept with reluctance. Even though many of these unions are eventually legalized, relatively little change is observed in the patterning of family relationships. The wife continues to be the main stabilizing element in the parent-child relationship, while the husband in many instances remains ineffective in his role as father and head of the household. These conditions render the man much freer from the pressures to limit reproduction, and may well account for male negative or disinterested attitudes towards family planning, as reported by the respondents.

(f) Knowledge of, and Attitudes towards Birth Control

Analyses in Chapters six and seven, show that the respondents are

generally in favour of conception control. A number of factors, however, act to decrease the efficiency and the regularity of the use of contraceptive methods. Ignorance, a belief that methods are harmful to the women's health, lack of confidence in the effectiveness of the methods, and male objections are the main reasons given by the respondents for not using contraceptives when they first desired to do so, or for discontinuing use. With regard to ignorance it was shown that many of the respondents learnt about the methods fairly late in marriage. Almost half the respondents gave ignorance as the main reason for not initiating contraception when they felt that they had had enough children. Once initiated, many of the respondents discontinued use because of failure of the method and a continued belief in its harmfulness. The high failure rate reported by the respondents may well reflect the inefficiency with which the methods were used.

As previously stated detailed instruction in contraceptive methods and practices would, if given early in the women's childbearing years, considerably reduce at least three of the objections. The extent to which these reasons are rationalizations for other reasons such as "too much bother" cannot be determined.

Our data, however, suggests that motivation on the part of the woman is insufficient to ensure any sustained effort. Male disapproval, or indifference, acts mainly as an obstacle to

communication, and prevents the sharing of knowledge and decisions between marital partners. Typically the man wants nothing to do with this matter and should his wife desire to do something it is entirely her responsibility. Hence, for the man any discussion of family limitation with his wife will be a negation of this position. The low level of consensus and communication between marital partners largely preclude the use of contraceptive methods requiring any co-operation from the man. The extent of male disinterest in or disapproval of family limitation can only be established by interviewing the men themselves, as the respondents in their interpretation of the man's attitudes, rely heavily on stereotyping; this being the only alternative as a result of inadequate communication.

(g) Reproductive Motivation

In Chapter eight it is shown that there is a tendency towards the four child family. This norm is, however, by no means crystallized and generally very little thought is given to planning and spacing during the earlier stages of the woman's childbearing years. Current preferences are largely determined by the woman's personal and family experiences and tend to change as these change. In many instances it is only when the woman feels that there are so many offspring that they become a burden, and that she is unable to cope, both physically and financially, that she seriously considers doing something. Thus it is the

negative motivation of desperation that induces the woman to use birth control rather than the positive urge to plan.

To make it worthwhile to plan and to persevere requires some effort, as pointed out by Elizabeth Draper in Birth Control in the Modern World¹⁾, induced by "hope of being able to achieve one's aims".

We have seen that respondents tend to be fatalistic in outlook. Many of the women are reduced to inefficiency by the lack of confidence they have in their own ability to influence circumstances. Hence they prefer to accept their lot in life rather than seek change. Lee Rainwater in his study of fertility among working class families in Chicago, as quoted by Elizabeth Draper, found a similar pattern of fatalism.

He observed that :

"Even marriage is less a positive seeking and choice than a drifting together, and having drifted together marriage is accepted as the consequence, children as the further and natural consequence. To try to avoid this appears like trying to outwit fate, so that lapses in contraceptive efforts are felt not to matter too much because they will be overlooked by Fate".²⁾

These findings certainly hold for many of our families studied.

The basic problem is one of increasing positive motivation.

1) Ibid., p. 120.

2) Ibid., p. 121.

2. Conclusions

- (a) It is obvious that there is no question of systematic family planning or birth control amongst these people in spite of their having received instruction in the use of contraceptive techniques. Therefore, the mere availability of information and facilities are not sufficient to stimulate interest in family planning.
- (b) There is general agreement amongst demographers that the desire for smaller families, resulting in the increased practice of birth control is largely a reflection of changes brought about in the family itself as a result of changes in the economic and social structure, and changes in the mode of life associated with them. As Cora du Bois observed -

"Family planning is not a 'thing' in itself. It is only an aspect of what some people call Westernization, some urbanization, but which more properly, we should call modernization. It is not just that men hear that there is a population explosion and something must be done about it and decide to regulate their reproductive behaviour accordingly. Such a mentalistic approach to human behaviour is sheer nonsense. Human behaviour is based on an intricate blend of calculated self-interest, unquestioned assumptions, of patterned behaviour and role relationships and of emotional spontaneities. Man's ego mechanisms are both expressive and defensive but they are also adaptive. He will change as his opportunities and his environment change. He will adopt family planning if he sees it as adaptive.

"In sum, the modernization complex, the revolution of rising expectations, economic development and a political system that permits a more

"equitable distribution of goods are all intricately meshed. This is the revolution that is changing the face of the contemporary world. Family planning and the control of population growth must be seen as part and parcel of this nexus. " 4)

Seen in the light of their present social and economic position within the total society it can therefore not be expected that the coloured population will in the foreseeable future adopt the large-scale practice of birth control of their own accord. Furthermore, changes in the total social and economic structure can only be brought about through large-scale programs of economic and social development, which may take a considerable time. The maintenance of a high fertility rate in the interim period tends to neutralize the effect of such programs.

- (c) Under such circumstances, the only alternative is induced motivation for family planning and birth control. This becomes a necessary part of the program through which a break-through in the vicious circle of economic and social insecurity and high fertility rates can be established. This can only be effected through a full-scale population program, initiated and implemented through recognized authorities, in which the general population places its confidence.
- (d) With regard to techniques, it is clear that only those techniques will be successful that :

4) Du Bois, Cora: Socio-cultural aspects of Population Growth in Human Fertility and Population Problems , pp. 259 - 260.

- i) require no co-operation on the part of the male,
and
- ii) require a minimum amount of effort on the part
of the female.

The only modern technique meeting the first requirement is the pill. However, the pill requires sustained effort on the part of the female, and as motivation is insufficient to ensure persistent use, the only alternative is the loop.

- (e) This raises the question of when the loop should be introduced. It must be part of a program of information and education.

As previously mentioned mothers tend to refrain from discussing sexual behaviour with their daughters, as they are of opinion that ignorance will prolong abstention from its practice. Hence young girls lack the knowledge concerning intercourse and its consequences. To overcome this gap in knowledge, sex education should be given at school level as well as through community services, such as welfare organisations and clinics.

- (f) It is recommended that the loop, or any other modern contraceptive device, be supplied at the request of all adult females, irrespective of their marital status.
 - (g) It is advisable to extend maternity facilities and natal clinics to include family planning programs as part of their services.
-

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APPENDIX "A"THE INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

Number : _____

Address: _____
_____A. SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND ITEMS1. Age

16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45
-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------

2. Your occupation _____

3. Your husband's occupation _____

4. Where did you grow up?

Urban	Town	Township Settlement	Farm Rural
-------	------	------------------------	---------------

5. Length of residence at present location :

less than 6 months	6 months - 1 year	1 year - 1 yr 11 mnths	2 years - 2 yrs 11 mnths
-----------------------	----------------------	---------------------------	-----------------------------

3 years - 3 yrs 11 mnths	4 years - 4 yrs 11 mnths	5 years - 9 yrs 11 mnths	10 yrs +	Since birth
-----------------------------	-----------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------	----------------

6. Did you ever attend school?
If yes, what standard did you pass?

Never attended school	Sub A - Std II	Std III	Std IV	Std V
-----------------------------	-------------------	---------	--------	-------

Std VI	Std VII	Std VIII	Std IX	Std X
--------	---------	----------	--------	-------

7. And your husband, what standard did he pass?

Never Attended School	Sub A - Std II	Std III	Std IV	Std V
-----------------------------	-------------------	---------	--------	-------

Std VI	Std VII	Std VIII	Std IX	Std X
--------	---------	----------	--------	-------

8. What is the total weekly income of family?

Less than R1.00	R1.00 - R1.99	R2.00 - R2.99	R3.00 - R3.99	R4.00 - R5.99	R6.00 - R7.99
--------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------	------------------

R8.00 - R9.99	R10 - R13.99	R14.00 - R19.99	R20.00 R29.99	R30.00 R39.00	R40.00 +
------------------	-----------------	--------------------	------------------	------------------	-------------

9. Except for you, your husband and your children, do you have anybody else living with you?

Nobody else living with family	
Parents or parents-in-law	
Son- or daughter-in-law	
Other relatives (Specify)	
Non-relatives	

10. Housing

a. Tenancy

Owner	
Owner with tenants	
Single tenant	
Sub-tenant	
Free accommodation	
Other	

b. Number of living rooms

1 - 2 rooms	3 - 4 rooms	5 - 6 rooms	7 +
-------------	-------------	-------------	-----

11. What are the sleeping arrangements in your home?

Children over the age of six, share a room with you and your husband	
Other adults share a room with you and husband	
You and husband have separate room	
Children under the age of six share a room with you and your husband	

12. When you were a child did you after your tenth birthday :

Sleep alone in a bed	
Share a bed with your sister	
Share a bed with your brother	
Share a bed with your parents	
Share a bed with other adult relatives	
Share a bed with adult non-relatives	

13. When you were a child did you after your tenth birthday :

Share a bedroom with your parents	
Share a bedroom with females only	
Share a bedroom with other male and female children	
Share a bedroom with other male and female adults	

14. To which church do you belong?

Ned. Geref., Gereformeerde or Ned. Hervormde Kerk	
Methodist or Prebyterian church	
Anglican churches	
Congregational	
Lutheran	
Roman Catholic	
Islam	
Apostolic Faith Mission	
Christian Sects	
Other	
Unspecified	

15. In general, how many times a month do you go to church?

Never or very seldom	
Once a month	
2 - 3 times	
4 or more times	

16. PREGNANCY HISTORY

Preg- nancy	Date of			Sex		If deceased Date of Birth
	Live Birth	Stillborn	Miscarriage	M	F	
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
11						
12						
13						
14						
15						
16						
17						

Number of living children _____

B. STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FAMILY

Dominance Index

- | | | | | |
|----|--|---------|--------|--------------|
| 1. | In general, who controls the budget and decides how the family income should be spent? | Jointly | You | Your Husband |
| 2. | In general, who has more to do with the counselling of the children and makes the major decisions regarding their education? | Jointly | You | Your Husband |
| 3. | Apart from the times when you are menstruating, do you ever refuse to have sexual relations with your husband? | Often | Seldom | Never |

Communication Index /

Communication Index

4. I am going to mention the following topics and you must tell me whether you have ever discussed them with your husband :

	Yes	No
The disciplining of the children		
The education of the children		
Religion		
Your husband's work		
Spending of the family income		
Sexual relations		
Family size		
Family limitation		

Level of Consensus

5. Do you and your husband have the same or different opinions on these topics?

	Same	Different	Does not know
The disciplining of children			
The education of the children			
Religion			
Your husband's work			
Spending of the family income			
Sexual relations			
Family size			
Family limitation			

Index of Marital Satisfaction

6. How do you feel about married life?
Are you?

Happy	Just Satisfied	Not at all Satisfied
-------	----------------	----------------------

7. If you could choose again, would you :

Marry your husband again	Marry somebody else	Not marry at all
--------------------------	---------------------	------------------

8. How do you feel about sexual relations with your husband?
Do you find them :

Enjoyable	Just tolerate them	Most Unpleasant
-----------	--------------------	-----------------

9. A couple have several children and are very poor. The wife does not want any more children, but the husband does not care. Do you think the wife should do something about it? If yes, what do you think she should do?

She should do nothing	
Avoid having sexual relations	
Use contraceptives	
Become sterilized	
She does not know	

10. A couple have several children and decide that they do not want any more. Who do you think should take the responsibility of preventing them?

Wife	
Husband	
Both husband and wife jointly	

C. ATTITUDINAL AND INFORMATIONAL ITEMS

General Value Orientation

Planning Index

1. Do you think it is better to plan for things in life or is it better to leave them to fate?

Plan	
Leave to fate	
Does not know	

2. In general, do you make plans in advance or do you act on the spur of the moment?
And your husband?

	You	Your Husband
Makes plans in advance		
Acts on the spur of the moment		

3. In order to succeed, is it better to work hard and make sacrifices in life or is it better to trust to luck and be content with what comes?

Work hard
Be lucky

Aspirations for self and children

4. In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your present living conditions?

Satisfied
Dissatisfied

5. Do you think that your way of life is better, the same or worse than it was when you first got married?

Better	
Same	
Worse	

6. Do you think a child should follow in his father's footsteps or should he make his own way in life? Why (Specify)

Follow father's footsteps	
Make his own way in life	

7. Do you think a child who doesn't go to school will be at a disadvantage later in life or doesn't it matter?

Doesn't matter	
Will be at disadvantage	

Family Size Preferences and Attitudes toward Spacing

8. How many children do you consider ideal? -----

9. If you were today a young girl about to be married for the first time, how many children would you like to have? -----

10. More than how many children do you consider to be a large family? -----

11. After which child did you think you had had enough children?

Number	
Wants more children	
Does not know	

12. At that time was there anyone who made you think that you had had enough children?
If yes, specify your relationship to that person.

Yes (specify relationship)	
No	

13. Before your first child was born did you ever think about the number of children you wanted?

Yes	No
-----	----

14. How many children did you then want to have?

Number	
Does not know	
As many as might come	

15. Before you had your first child did you ever think about how often you wanted to have them?

One after the other	
Evenly spaced with intervals of 2-3 yrs between	
As they might come	
Does not know	

16. When you got married for the first time did you ever talk to your husband about the number of children he would like?

Yes	No
-----	----

17. How many did he want?

Number	
As many as might come	
Does not know	

18. Did he want them?

One after the other	
Evenly spaced	
It did not matter to him	
She does not know	

19. And your present husband, does he want more children?

He wants more children	
He does not care	
She does not know	
Not applicable	

20. If living with second or other husband, do you think you ought to give your new husband children or not?

Yes	
No	
She does not know	
Not applicable	

The Evaluation of Children, Sterility Fears and Sex Attitudes

21. Do you think one of the most important things in life is to have children?

Yes	No
-----	----

22. Do you think children help to keep a marriage together?

Yes a great deal
Somewhat
Not at all

23. Do you expect any financial aid from your children in old age?

Yes	No
-----	----

24. Should children look after their parents in old age or should parents look after themselves?

Children should look after parents	
Parents should look after themselves	

25. If a woman does not have children, even though she has a man, do people say things about her?

Yes (specify)	
No	

26. Would you say it is better to marry a man or just to live with a man?

Marry a man	
Live with a man	

27. Your reasons for preferring marriage :

Woman has financial claim on man	
Marriage is more respectable	
Inheritance ensured for yourself and children	
Religion	
Children are better cared for	
Good example to children	
Can expect fidelity from mate	
Woman has all her children from one man	
Legitimate children have more opportunities in life	
Other reasons (specify)	

D. HISTORY OF MARITAL UNIONS

1. Type of Union

UNIONS

Legal	1
Consensual	2

1st

2nd

3rd

4th

--	--	--	--

2. Age of entry into first union: _____

3. Started as single, consensual or legal : _____

4. Age when ended: _____

5. Union ended by:

Death	1
Divorce	2
Desertion by you	3
Desertion by husband	4

6. Number of children living with you : _____

7. Number of children living with ex-husband: _____

8. Number living elsewhere (specify) : _____

9. How many of the children not living with you receive support from you? _____

1. I am going to mention the names of some of the birth control methods and I want you to tell me which you know.

2. Have you ever used any of these methods?

3. What made you decide to prevent children the first time? (Specify).

5. If you are no longer using the following methods, what are your reasons for quitting?

[illegible]

6. If your daughter were to get married, would you advise her to use birth control?

Yes	No
-----	----

7. If your husband should object, would you rather have more children than use birth control without his knowledge?

Have more children	
Use contraception without husband's knowledge	
Husband consents	

COITAL FREQUENCY

8. How often do you have intercourse?

Once a week	
Twice a week	
Three or more times a week	

9. Do you have sexual relations more often during the week or more often during week-ends?

Hardly ever during the week	
Sometimes, but more often during week-ends	
Both during the week and week-ends - it makes no difference	

10. Do you have sexual relations more often before, after or between menstrual periods?

Before	
After	
Between	
Makes no difference	

11. After a drinking party does your husband demand intercourse more often than otherwise?

Yes	No
-----	----

12. And to what extent do you refuse to have relations with him when he has been drinking?

Always refuse	
Mostly refuse	
Sometimes but very rarely refuse	
Never refuse	
Not applicable	

13. What do you consider the ideal coital frequency per week necessary to ensure marital satisfaction?

DRINKING HABITS

14. Are you a teetotaler?

Yes	No
-----	----

15. If not, how often do you have something to drink?

Six or seven days of the week	
Four or five days of the week	
Two or three days of the week	
Once a week	
Only during the week-end	
Less than once a week	
Teetotaler	

16. And your husband, is he a teetotaler?

Yes	No
-----	----

17. If not, how often does he have something to drink?

Six or seven days of the week	
Four or five days of the week	
Two or three days of the week	
Once a week	
Only during week-ends	
Less than once a week	
Teetotaler	

18. On which day of the week do you do most of your drinking?
And your husband, when does he do most of his drinking?

You _____ Your husband _____

19. In general, how much of your weekly household income is spent on liquor?

Nil	Less than 50c	50c - R1. 00	R1. 10 - R2. 00	R2. 10 - R3. 00	R3. 00 and more
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20. Does your husband usually drink?

At home with his friends	
At home on his own	
With friends at their home or at a bar	
Alone at a bar	

